

Latin at the Crossroads of Identity

*The Evolution of
Linguistic Nationalism in
the Kingdom of Hungary*

Edited by

Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić



Latin at the Crossroads of Identity

Central and Eastern Europe

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Cover illustration: Watercolour paintings of senior students at the Debrecen boarding school, taken from the diary of József Csokonai (end of 18th century). Courtesy of Déri Múzeum (Debrecen), Irodalmi Gyűjtemény (K.X.75.72.1).

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Contents

List of Illustrations	VII
List of Contributors	VIII
Kingdom of Hungary at the Beginning of the 19 th Century	XII

Introduction	1
<i>Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić</i>	

PART 1

The Politics of Language

- 1 When Language Became Ideology: Hungary in the Eighteenth Century 27
István Margócsy
- 2 Which Language and Which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790 35
Henrik Hőnich
- 3 'Hungarus Consciousness' in the Age of Early Nationalism 64
Ambrus Miskolczy
- 4 Before and After 1773: Central European Jesuits, the Politics of Language and Discourses of Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy 95
Per Pippin Aspaas and László Kontler

PART 2

Dilemmas of Latin in Education and Media

- 5 The Enlightenment's Choice of Latin: The *Ratio educationis* of 1777 in the Kingdom of Hungary 121
Teodora Shek Brnardić

- 6 **The Long Road of Hungarian Media to Multilingualism: On the Replacement of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Course of the Eighteenth Century** 152

Andrea Seidler

- 7 **The Language Question and the Paradoxes of Latin Journalism in Eighteenth-Century Hungary** 166

Piroska Balogh

PART 3

The Other Hungarians

- 8 **From the Aftermath of 1784 to the Illyrian Turn: The Slow Demise of the Official Latin in Croatia** 193

Lav Šubarić

- 9 **The Latin Speeches in the Croatian Parliament: Collective and Personal Identities** 218

Zvezdana Sikirić Assouline

- 10 **Latin as the Panslavonic Language, 1790–1848** 237

Alexander Maxwell

- 11 **Latin and Vernacular Relations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Serbian Case** 256

Nenad Ristović

- 12 **Romans, Romanians and Latin-Speaking Hungarians: The Latin Language in the Hungarian-Romanian Intellectual Discourse of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century** 278

Levente Nagy

- Index** 307

List of Illustrations

Map

Kingdom of Hungary at the Beginning of the 19th Century XII–XIII

Figures

- 4.1 Maximilian Hell, *Map of Karelia, the original homeland of Hungarians* 109
- 5.1 Frontispice from Christophorus Cellarius, *Latinitatis probatae et exercitae liber memorialis* (Posonii 1777) 120
- 7.1 Title page of the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* 174
- 7.2 The title page of the *Ephemerides Budenses* 180

Diagrams

- 1 The output of the printing presses in Hungary 5
- 2 The language of books reviewed in the *Ephemerides Budenses* 182

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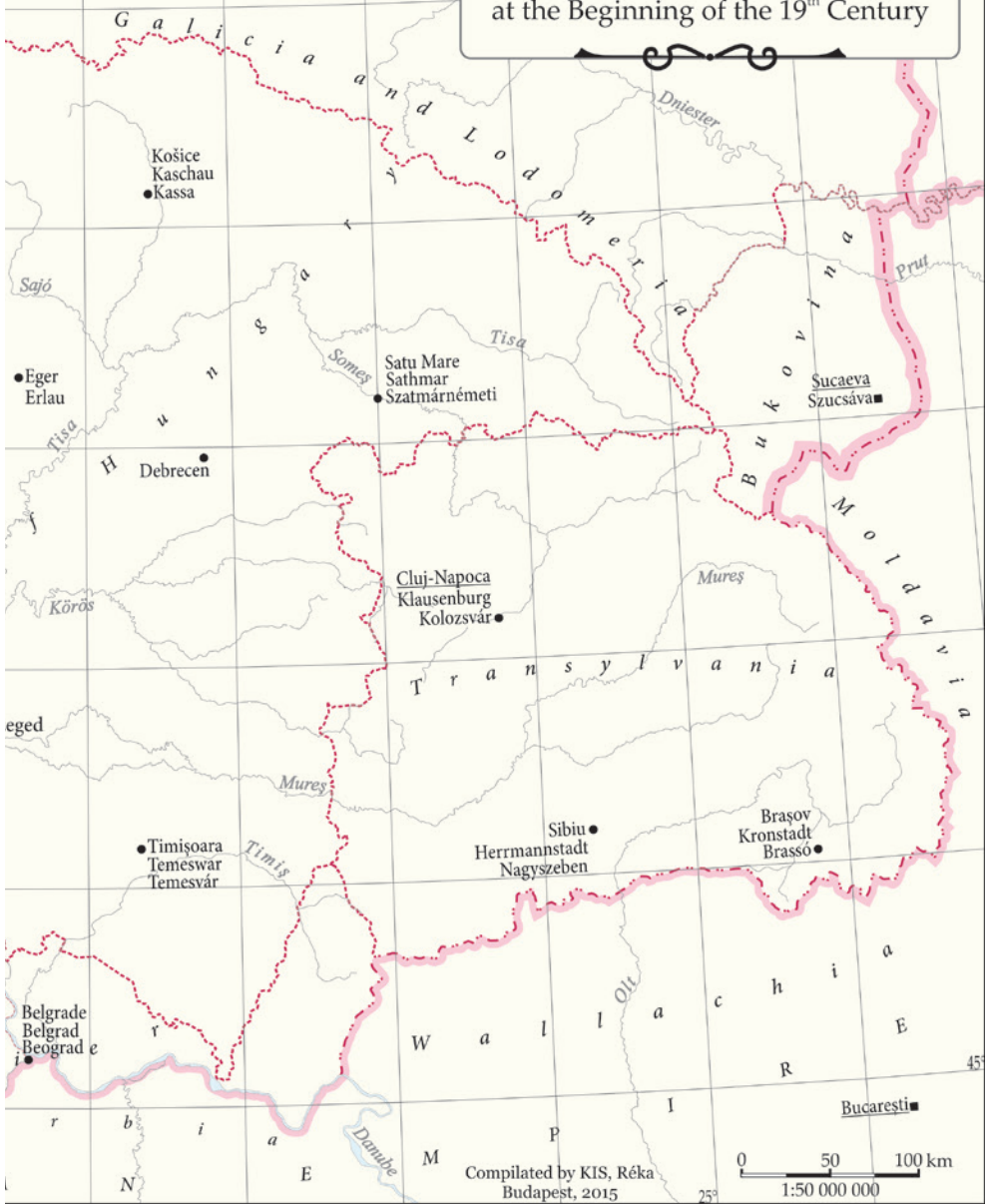
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Kingdom of Hungary at the Beginning of the 19th Century



Introduction

Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić

The life and works of Jan Amos Comenius remained part of the cultural heritage of several European countries, including the Kingdom of Hungary.¹ The great pedagogue arrived in Hungary in 1650 with the hope of finding the hero of his utopian dream of a Protestant victory over the Habsburgs. However, the target person, Zsigmond Rákóczi, the younger brother of the prince of Transylvania, died soon after, and Comenius left the country in 1654. As a kind of final admonition, he dedicated a short book, the *Gentis felicitas*, to the prince of Transylvania. By and large it was about the ways in which Hungary could become powerful in order to withstand the Habsburgs. In the first part of the work he diagnosed the problems of the country, then suggested some ways to deal with them. One of the problems Comenius diagnosed was multilingualism:

[Hungary] is not only inhabited by those of a Hunnic blood but also of the remnants of ancient peoples in great numbers (Slavic tribes), while it is evident that many crept into the country from other places: Germans, Ruthenians, Wallachs and even Turks. As a result they do not use the same language but at least five languages, which are entirely different from each other. There would hardly be more comprehension of one another than on the tower of Babel, if not for the medium of the common Latin (which is already the sixth completely different language), or [unless] people failed to learn another two, three or four languages, but neither of which correctly, as it happens. Such confusion of nations, languages and customs either leads to barbarism or smells of it; it obviously upsets common happiness.²

1 We sincerely thank István Szijártó, Per Pippin Aspaas and László Kontler for their careful reading and useful comments on the draft paper. We also warmly thank our colleagues at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies for their support of this project. Special thanks go to Thomas Szerecz for his dedicated copy-editing.

2 “Non a solo Hunnorum sanguine habitari, multas superesse antiqui incolatus (Gentium Slavicarum) reliquias; multos item irrepsisse aliunde, Germanos, Rutenos, Walachos, adeoque Turcas, in evidenti est. Unde nec linguam unam incolae utuntur, sed ad minimum quinam, toto caelo a se invicem distante: ut alius alium non magis intelligat, quam in Turri Babel: nisi communi Latinam (quae jam sexta toto genere nova est) interprete, aut si quis duas, tres quatuorve addiderit: et nullam recte, uti fieri solet. Quae gentium, linguarum, morum confusio,

A symptom of this Babelian state, Comenius claimed, in a country where a “great, if not the greater part” of the land is inhabited by non-Magyars,³ is the backwardness of education, with not even a single vernacular school in the whole kingdom—“horrible to say, and [a fact] unheard of among Christians elsewhere.”⁴ The advice of the Czech pedagogue was less substantial than his diagnosis. The problems created by multinationalism might be overcome if there is greater concord and learning: *morum et linguarum cultura*.⁵

While the Babelian chaos of languages had never been positively viewed in Christian history, and the ideal of a past proto-language (the Adamic language) had not been questioned until the end of the sixteenth century,⁶ before the eighteenth century it was rarely regarded the problem of a state, that is, politics. An even earlier exception than Comenius is provided by the Catholic political-religious agent Kaspar Schoppe, who claimed linguistic homogeneity was desirable for a harmonic state. In a letter addressed to Emperor Ferdinand II after the Battle of White Mountain, Schoppe warned the victor that future rebellions among the Bohemians could only be avoided if he made sure that the dissimilitude between the Czechs and the Germans was reduced, culturally, legally and also linguistically.⁷

barbariem quamdam aut inducit aut redolet, publicamque felicitatem manifeste turbat.” A. Comenius, *Gentis felicitas* (Amsterdam 1659), 19. The work was written in 1654. On its context and interpretation see K. Péter, “Comenius magyarországi elképzeléseiről. A Sermo secretus és a Gentis felicitas” [On Comenius’s ideas about Hungary], *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis: Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum* 21 (1985), 63–72 (available online); B. Trencsényi, “Patriotism and Elect Nationhood in Early Modern Hungarian Political Discourse,” in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. by B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (Leiden 2010), 499–544, at 526–530; V. Urbánek, “Patria Lost and Chosen People: The Case of the Seventeenth-Century Bohemian Protestant Exiles,” in *ibid.*, 587–610, at 600–602.

3 *Ibid.*, 18.

4 “toto in regno, qua ab Hungaris habitatur, nullam vernaculam scholam (horribile dictu, et inauditum inter Christianos alibi) ubi ad literaturam et mores exerceanur pueri, reperire est. In Latinis autem quid discitur? Omnium liberalium artium (praeter grammaticae et logicae frustula) historiarum item, philosophiae, medicinae etc. publica ignorantia docet.” *Ibid.*, 26.

5 *Ibid.*, 42.

6 A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, 6 vols. (Stuttgart 1957–1963).

7 The letter of late 1620 is kept in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Fondo Scioppiano 223, f. 36^r–38^r. It has been published in G. Almási, *A Secretissima instructio (1620). A kora újkori politikai paradigmaváltás egy Bethlen-kori röpirat tükrében* [The *Secretissima instructio*

Undeniably, the similar attracts the similar, and it is rightly claimed that friendship is based on similitude, and to want and refuse the same is eventually believed to be friendship. Dissimilitude, on the other hand, even in minor things, usually creates discord in the mind and the will, so much so that in the same town merely the difference of the citizens' location makes often the inhabitants of one side of the river quarrel with the faction of the other side.⁸

Hence legal, religious and linguistic similitude was the most desirable also between the Czechs and the Germans. And Schoppe advised that if Ferdinand changed in Bohemia only the language of the law courts and religious services to German, in a few years not even the traces of *Sclavonismus* would be apparent any more.⁹

While Schoppe, speaking at the beginning of the seventeenth century, sounds frighteningly modern to us, two centuries later similar claims already appear conventional. The process of vernacularisation and the coming of linguistic nationalism, which this volume investigates, ended in Hungary with increasingly radical claims from the part of Hungarians towards non-Hungarian nationalities. From the end of the eighteenth century Hungarian estates urged the introduction (and to varying degree the enforcement) of the Hungarian language in any public forum where earlier the Latin language or local vernaculars ruled; in fact, in the 1830s even Hungarian language church service became a demand in nationalist discourse.¹⁰ By 1844, after a legal process of more than half a century which was heavily delayed by the Habsburg court, the official language of Hungary finally became Hungarian. Hungary was thus the last European country in which Latin lost its dominance in higher administration and education, together with the associated Kingdom

(1620). The paradigm shift in early modern politics as reflected in a pamphlet of the Bethlen era] (Budapest 2014), 213–223.

8 “Nimirum omne simile gaudet simili, ex eoque similitudo amicitiae conciliatrix recte perhibetur, et idem velle, idemque nolle vera demum amicitia esse creditur. Dissimilitudo vicissim etiam in rebus minimis animorum solet voluntatumque efficere dissidia, ita ut saepe in eadem civitate sola situs diversitas cives in studia diducat, et qui ex altera parte fluminis incolunt ab altera accolentibus factione dissideant.” Ibid., 218.

9 Ibid., 220.

10 See for example the study of the county of Pest by F. Kerényi, *Pest vármegye irodalmi élete (1790–1867)* [The literary life of the county of Pest (1790–1867)] (Budapest 2003), 39. However, the issue was already raised in 1806 by the nobility of the county of Hont. D. Rapant, *Ilegalná maďarizácia* [Illegal Magyarisation] (Bratislava 1947), 66–67.

of Croatia, where this dominance lasted until 1847. Although this legal and cultural process may appear rather slow (and late), in reality it was sudden and radical. Mentally, culturally and politically a new world was born in this half century, entirely replacing the old rule of Latin, which represented a remarkable cultural-political continuity going back to the Middle Ages. The study and cult of classical authors, the transmission of the Renaissance values of virtue and erudition, and the principle of imitation gave way to the study of the vernacular, an admiration for modern and original authors distinguished by their language, and the valuing of national origins.

Latin Hungary

While the challenge against the omnipresence of Latin rose almost everywhere in Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century (in Hungary from the 1780s), the Kingdom of Hungary started from a different level of vernacular culture. To illustrate Hungary's belatedness in vernacularisation, we may turn to a popular marker, bibliographical statistics.¹¹ In France, the country that was leading in vernacularisation, the share of Latin publications stabilised around 20 per cent already in the seventeenth century, and it sank to 30 per cent also in Italy. The eighteenth century saw a steady decline everywhere, although the transition to the vernacular was neither linear nor uniform.¹² In Hungary this process was particularly segmented with a number of crises which still lack a comprehensive understanding (see Diagram 1).

After a relative boom of Hungarian prints in the late sixteenth century, the major part of the seventeenth century resulted in stagnation. Neither the reconquest of Ottoman Hungary had any influence on book production in the Hungarian language; quite the contrary, the greatest crisis came at the beginning of the eighteenth century. On the average, Latin remained at 48 per cent throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (with over 60 per cent in

11 As with any statistics, these need to be cautiously read. In the Hungarian case it is important to note that the country had relatively few printing presses in the sixteenth and seventeenth century and a considerable proportion of authors coming from Hungary let their works be printed abroad—primarily in Latin—by foreign typographies. (These works have been catalogued by Károly Szabó and Árpád Hellebrandt as *Régi Magyar Könyvtár III.*)

12 See F. Waquet, "Latin," in *Finding Europe: Discourses on Margins, Communities, Images*, ed. by Antony Molho (Oxford and New York 2007), 359–383, at 364–366. Also see her *Latin, or, The Empire of a Sign: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London 2001) (French orig. 1998).

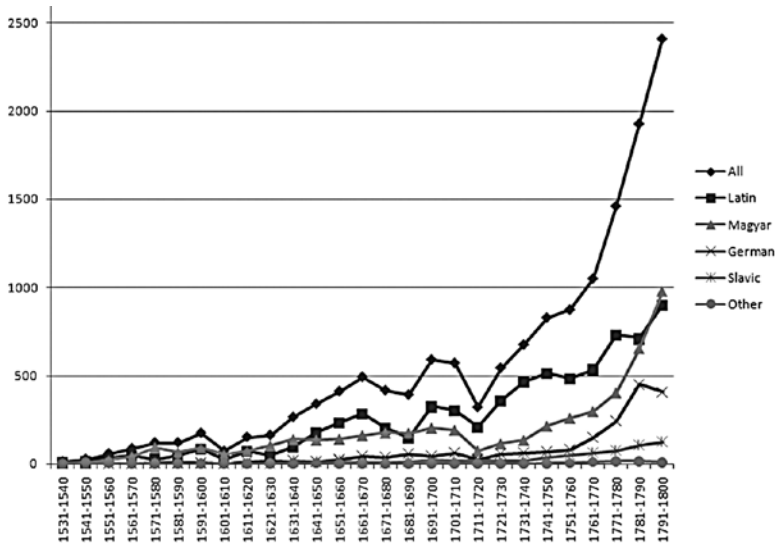


DIAGRAM 1 *The output of the printing presses in Hungary.*¹³

the first half of the eighteenth), and the balance of languages started radically changing only from the 1770s onwards.¹⁴

Latinity was massively resistant to time also at the level of everyday communication among certain groups of the society. The number of accounts and anecdotes on Hungary's Latin-speaking population is impressive.¹⁵

13 Based on the statistics by Cs. Csapodi, "A magyarországi nyomtatványok nyelvi megoszlása 1800-ig" [Linguistic division of publications in Hungary before 1800], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 70 (1946), 98–104 (available online).

14 These statistics are, however, problematic in as much as they fail to consider Latin publications of Hungarian authors abroad until 1711. Therefore, the high proportion of Magyar prints (over 50%) in the sixteenth century should be interpreted with extreme caution.

15 Several are listed by I. Gy. Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe* (Budapest 2000), esp. 11–12, 130–145. Cf. id., "A latin mint beszélt nyelv Magyarországon a 17–18. században" [Latin as a spoken language in Hungary in the 17th and 18th centuries], in *In Memoriam Barta Gábor. Tanulmányok Barta Gábor emlékére*, ed. by I. Lengvári (Pécs 1996), 339–352. Others have been collected by Svorad Zavarský in his manuscript conference paper "Early Nineteenth-Century Defence of Latin: Some Thoughts on Cultural Continuity and Discontinuity in the Kingdom of Hungary (A Slovak Perspective)" (which was read in a shortened version at the conference "Latin, National Identity and the Language Question in Central Europe," in Innsbruck, Dec. 2012). Also see I. Margócsy, "A magyar nyelv jelenléte a 18. századi iskoláztatásban (Tanulmány és adattár)" [The presence of the Magyar language in 18th-century education (Study and database)], in

Characteristic of this type of story is the ploughing peasant who speaks a few words in Latin to the passer-by.¹⁶ Several travellers noted the widespread use of Latin even among “coachmen, watermen and mean persons,”¹⁷ or “millers and butchers.”¹⁸ These seventeenth- and eighteenth-century anecdotes show that Latin could indeed function as a real medium of communication among the different nations of the country at a level that seemed odd to foreigners. They also reveal that local intellectuals were aware and proud of Hungary’s Latinity, even if complaining sometimes about its basic level (“Hussarenlatein”). The question of just how widespread and proficient everyday Latin knowledge was, has been investigated by István György Tóth on the basis of archival material.¹⁹ Tóth studied two larger areas. While he could affirm that in areas where the population was mixed, Latin was often used as a common language, especially in parts of present-day Slovakia, in other regions of the country (west Hungary, for example), where ethnic boundaries were stiffer, the level of Latin knowledge was much lower. Here landless, impoverished noblemen would often lack the most basic Latin. In the county of Vas, as late as 1770, only every fifth schoolmaster knew Latin. It was then vainly prescribed in the *Ratio educationis* of 1777 that also the sons of village noblemen and more talented peasant boys should learn some Latin: there were apparently not enough qualified schoolmasters in the country. Still, many of the lower gentry pretended to know some Latin, since Latinising, even erroneously, was a sign of distinction.²⁰ Tóth suggests that the myth of Hungary’s Latinity should not be taken at face value, the ploughing peasant or the artisan who had some basic knowledge of Latin belonged to the group of exceptions; yet learned men, including clerics, wealthier noblemen and many of the soldiers and merchants, indeed understood and

Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből, ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 2005), 71–152, at 76–82; and Andrea Seidler’s chapter in this volume on pp. 155–156.

- 16 J. M. Gross, *Historisches Lexicon evangelischer Jubel-Priester* (Nuremberg 1727), 102; M. Bel, “Tractatio sive caput de re vestiari et moribus Hungarorum” (ms from the 1720s), in M. Bel, *Magyarország népének élete 1730 táján*, ed. by I. Wellmann (Budapest 1984), 462.
- 17 E. Brown, *A Brief Account of Some Travels in Hungaria, Servia, Bulgaria...* (London 1673), 14.
- 18 “*auch Müller und Fleischer mitunter das Husaren-Latein reden*” by Joseph Rohrer in 1809, on the easternmost county of Hungary, cited by Zavarský, “Early Nineteenth-Century Defence of Latin.”
- 19 Tóth, “A latin mint beszélt nyelv”; id., *Literacy and Written Culture*, 130–145. Although Tóth does not completely disregard women’s Latin knowledge (cf. p. 140), this subject would certainly merit more extended study.
- 20 Tóth, “A latin mint beszélt nyelv,” 342; id., *Literacy and Written Culture*, 12.

spoke Latin. Tóth also suggests that the level and spread of Latinity was varying in time and space.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to map Latin teaching in the entire country throughout the eighteenth century.²¹ To be sure, secondary education was fully in Latin—the vernacular was ignored even as a medium for the teaching of Latin until the *Ratio educationis* of 1777—and Latin education proved especially resistant to reform attempts even after 1790, when the first law concerning languages was made allowing the introduction of the Hungarian language in secondary and higher education for those who wished to study it.²² The last bastion of Latin education was the University of Pest, where even in 1844, the closing date of Latin's political-educational dominance, the university asked for a moratorium on switching to Hungarian in teaching.

While we lack more profound research on Latin education at lower levels, there is a detailed study on the presence of the Hungarian language in eighteenth-century schooling by István Margócsy.²³ This study suggests that alongside Latin as a language of prestige, the status and attraction of the Hungarian language continuously grew throughout the century. Margócsy demonstrates that the Hungarian language was often associated with the nobility, which increasingly used it both privately and publicly. There were also a few 'noble' boarding schools that encouraged Hungarian conversation, which made them popular among non-Magyar noblemen.²⁴ The 'noble' school of Levoča (Lőcse/Leutschau) promoted the learning of three vernacular languages: Slovak ("useful for later life"), Hungarian ("the language of the nobility") and German ("spoken in the cities").²⁵ In fact, in the eighteenth century the use of

21 For an overview of the poor state of elementary education see I. Finánczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás története Mária Terézia korában* [The history of lower education in Hungary in the age of Maria Theresa], 2 vols. (Budapest 1899–1902), 1: 233–255. Zoltán Fallenbüchl registers a significant drop of attendance of Latin schools (gymnasia) in the second half of the century (and the parallel increase of the proportion of noble students). Z. Fallenbüchl, "Magyarország középfokú oktatási viszonyai a XVIII. században" [The state of secondary schools in Hungary in the 18th century], *Történeti Statisztikai Évkönyv* 4 (1965–1966), 175–239. One may also profit from an analysis of the relevant passages of the *Ratio educationis* of 1777.

22 The best work on educational reforms and schooling is by Gyula Kornis. See J. Kornis, *Ungarische Kulturideale 1777–1848* (Leipzig 1930).

23 Margócsy, "A magyar nyelv jelenléte."

24 *Ibid.*, 96, 136.

25 I. Mészáros, *Az iskolaügy története Magyarországon, 996–1777 között* [The question of a school in Hungary 996–1777] (Budapest 1981), 455–456. For Baroness Hellenbach (Éva Jánoky), Slovak was useful because of the peasants: "Erwäge," she wrote to her daughter

Hungarian was not uncommon in the lower house of the diet, and it appears that by 1764–65 (the last diet before 1790), Latin talks could be ridiculed.²⁶ The rising status of the Hungarian in the eighteenth century meant that Latin as a language of prestige acquired an important rival.

The Language Question Becomes Politicised

The increasing prestige of the Hungarian language was a smooth and practically invisible process as long as it remained apolitical. The turn happened in 1784 when Emperor Joseph II made German the official language also in Hungary, thus eventually in the entire Habsburg Monarchy.²⁷ In the introduction of the decree, Joseph II expressed his disdain for dead languages:

The use of a dead language, such as Latin, in all affairs is most certainly a discredit to the enlightenment of any nation as it tacitly proves that the nation has either no proper mother tongue or no one is able to use it for writing and reading, that only the learned men, devoted to Latin studies, can express their ideas on paper, and that justice is administered and the nation is governed in a language that it does not even understand. The evidence is clear, since all cultured nations in Europe have already banned the Latin language from public affairs, and it retains its position only in Hungary and Poland.²⁸

“dass du bey dieser [slowakischen] Sprache nichts mehres, als ein Bauermädchen vorstellst.” Cited by Margócsy, “A magyar nyelv jelenléte,” 97.

- 26 On the language use of the diet see I. Szijártó, *A diéta. A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés, 1708–1792* [The diet. The estates and the parliament of Hungary, 1708–1792] (Budapest 2005), 132–135. On the two lampoons against Latin (and a poem appreciative of Magyar speech), see *ibid.*, 133; and Margócsy, “A magyar nyelv jelenléte,” 94.
- 27 Analogous reforms were introduced in Galicia and Gorizia. See *Handbuch aller unter der Regierung des Kaisers Joseph des II. für die K. K. Erbländer ergangenen Verordnungen und Gesetze: in einer Systematischen Verbindung*, ed. by Joseph Kropatschek (Vienna 1786), 11: 858–860.
- 28 However, in Poland the use of Polish (from the mid-eighteenth century also in public life) was far more advanced than the use of Hungarian in Hungary. See Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs*, 207. See the original text of Joseph II’s letter to the chancellor: “Der Gebrauch einer todten Sprache in allen Geschäften, wie lateinische ist, dient ganz sicher einer Nation für ihre Aufklärung zur grössten Schande, da es tacite beweiset, dass die Nation entweder keine ordentliche Muttersprache hat, oder dass in selber kein Mensch weder lesen, noch schreiben kann, und dass nur die Gelehrten, so den lateinischen Studien

In practice, Joseph's language decree meant that the language of public administration, law courts and the national diets needed to switch to German within a few years. Further, entering public service, career promotion and even secondary education was now conditional on the knowledge of German.²⁹ While Joseph was driven by enlightened ideas, the hatred for provincial patriotism and the desire to better unite his empire (as he said he had no problem either with Latin, which he spoke, or with Hungarian, which was not a majority language), his initiative—realised with little success and withdrawn before his death—led to an explosion that radically reshaped cultural and political loyalties. The replacing of Latin with German was for no one, except for the emperor, a matter of communication or government. It was seen as a profoundly political move, a plain attempt at Germanisation, and thus an attack on the Hungarian nation (and culture), a 'nation' which was still comprised of a number of languages and ethnic groups joined together by historical, spatial, commercial and legal bonds. The estates were shocked, humiliated and outraged.³⁰ Each county protested individually to the ruler in a humble but desperate letter. The county of Zagreb, for example, prayed to Joseph to mercifully cure the great wound "inflicted on their minds."³¹ While 37 counties protested against German (and via German, against imagined Austrian and German public servants) and argued for keeping Latin as the language of tradition, law, liberties and privileges, there were 20 counties which incorporated into their protest also arguments for the Hungarian language. If the *patria lingua*,

obgelegen sind, ihre Gedanken allein schriftlich auf dem Papier ausdrücken können, ja, dass die Nation insgesamt in einer Sprache, die sie nicht einmal versteht, regieret und beurtheilet wird. Der Beweis ist klar, da alle in Europa bestehende und politirte Nationen die lateinische Sprache von Geschäften verbannet haben, und selbe nur noch in Hungarn und Pohlen ihren Wohnsitz beybehalten hat." Published by F. Szilágyi, "A germanizálás történelméből a két magyar hazában II. József alatt" [From the history of Germanisation in the two Hungarian patrias under Joseph II], *Értekezések a történelmi tudományok köréből* 6 (1877), iv, 1–31, at 30. See the official Latin translation as part of the decree in *Collectio ordinationum imperatoris Josephi II-di et repraesentationum diversorum Regni Hungariae comitatum* (Diószeg 1790), 54.

- 29 The sources of the decree will be comprehensively published in an anthology dedicated to the language question in Hungary, 1784–1810, which we are preparing for publication. At the moment one can use the *Collectio ordinationum*, 54–92; and Szilágyi, "A germanizálás történelméből."
- 30 I. Soós, "II. József német nyelvrendelete és a 'hivatalos' Magyarország" [The German decree of Joseph II and "official" Hungary], in *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből*, ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 2005), 261–301.
- 31 "gravissima Animis Nostris iterato inflictio Vulnera." Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár A 39 1784. Nr. 10305, f. 9^v.

the father tongue (Latin), had to give place to a vernacular, it needed to be the “native Hungarian language,” the “mother tongue of the kingdom.”³² This would also be the best way to make Hungary—which is a sovereign land and merits a sovereign language—equal to those cultured nations, which Joseph II has mentioned in the decree. The question of non-Magyar minorities was raised only by a very few counties (like that of Trencsény/Trenčín, SK, or Bihar/Bihor, RO), which argued that the commoners, not speaking Hungarian, did not matter since they were excluded anyway from public affairs, that is, from law-making and office-holding.³³

The arguments used by the counties in 1784 against German and for Latin or Hungarian reappeared in the most varied configurations in the next 60 years. However, after 1790, the debate already concerned the Hungarian language, and the unity that the common defence of Latin brought about was gone for good. Language was not any more a problem of the privileged class of the nobility, it was now a cultural-political problem of the wider society; in fact, it developed a few years later into a problem of cultural-political identity, which we can increasingly call ‘national identity’ in the epoch that followed.

The Kingdom of Hungary: A Case Apart

What distinguished this vital cultural-political change in the Kingdom of Hungary was the country’s political system and social and ethnic situation. Whatever the real or fictional degree of its independence, as a matter of fact, Hungary was a part of the already highly complex Habsburg Monarchy. The rebellion of Ferenc Rákóczi (1703–1711), which took its toll on both sides, ultimately made clear that Hungary could not be integrated into the Habsburg Monarchy as Bohemia had been after 1620: its ‘customs and statutes’ were to be observed. In turn, Hungary would accept the ‘indivisible and inseparable unity’ of the Monarchy in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, and tolerate the fact that its ruler continued living in a capital ‘foreign’ to the country, ruling a court where Hungarians—i.e. inhabitants of Hungary—were always significantly under-represented. While the language of the imperial court was officially German (in fact, it was multilingual), the official language of the Hungarian parliament, the diet, had been Latin before the later part of the eighteenth century, except for a few occasions and for Transylvania, where the language of the local diets

32 For the Latin terms used by the counties see Soós, “II. József német nyelvrendelete,” 275, 288–290.

33 *Ibid.*, 292.

had traditionally been Hungarian before the eighteenth century.³⁴ Although Hungary was ‘indivisible and inseparable’ from the hereditary provinces, its ‘otherness’, in terms of law and administration, turned out to be unshakeable. All in all, Maria Theresa’s enlightened government, aiming at greater international competitiveness through by-passing the power of privileged groups, had little chance for success in Hungary.³⁵ It did not help much that the empress, who realised with dismay that significant legal reforms could not be achieved with the estates, failed to convoke the diet after 1764–65, and Joseph II, the uncrowned king, introduced radical reforms through royal decrees. From 1790 political reforms could be implemented only through never-ending parliamentary negotiations, which were centred around the grievances of the estates. Political discourse in the diet became focused on the ‘ancient constitution’—the fundamental rules of political and social order.³⁶ The continuous opposition of the Hungarian political bodies (most importantly the diet) to the politics of the Viennese court, the resentment to ‘foreign rule’, and the never-ending bitterness over Hungary’s curtailed independence gave an extra political dimension to the Hungarian language movement. The Viennese court was probably right when it interpreted the ‘movement’ as a disguised path towards separatism.³⁷ It was however wrong to see it unidimensionally, as merely a sign of separatism.

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- 34 On the political developments of the eighteenth century and relations to the Habsburg Monarchy see R. J. W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe c.1683–1867* (Oxford 2006); H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs, 1765–1800*; L. Kontler, *A History of Hungary: Millennium in Central Europe*, 2nd ed. (New York 2002); id., “Polizey and Patriotism: Joseph von Sonnenfels and the Legitimacy of Enlightened Monarchy in the Gaze of Eighteenth-Century State Sciences,” in *Monarchism and Absolutism in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by C. Cuttica and G. Burgess (London 2012), 75–91.
- 35 See the summary by L. Kontler, “The Uses of Knowledge and the Symbolic Map of the Enlightened Monarchy of the Habsburgs Maximilian Hell as Royal and Imperial Astronomer (1755–1792),” in *Negotiating Knowledge, Decentering Empires: The Sciences of Heavens, Earth, and Man, c. 1550–1810*, ed. by L. Kontler et al. (Basingstoke and New York 2014), 88–92.
- 36 See L. Péter, *Hungary’s Long Nineteenth Century: Constitutional and Democratic Traditions in a European Perspective: Collected Studies*, ed. by M. Lojkó (Leiden 2012), 191–196. Cf. I. Szijártó, “A magyar rendek adómegajánlási joga és a 18. századi adómegajánlási rend kialakulása” [The right of the estates of Hungary to vote for the tax and the development of 18th-century system to vote for the tax], *Történelmi Szemle* 46 (2004), 241–295.
- 37 See in this regard Gy. Szekfű, *Iratok a magyar államnyelv kérdésének történetéhez 1790–1848* [Documents on the history of the status of Hungarian as official language, 1790–1848] (Budapest 1926), 220–226, available at <http://adatbank.transindex.ro/cedula.php?kod=1293>, accessed on 15 Apr. 2014.

In the eighteenth century, political relations with the rest of the monarchy were as complex as they were within the composite state of Hungary itself. In the eighteenth century, the lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen meant in practice Hungary proper, Croatia, Transylvania and the port of Fiume/Rijeka (from 1779), as a *corpus separatum*. Transylvania was administered through its sovereign corporate bodies independently from Hungary, while the Banat of Temes (until 1779) and the military borderlands in Slavonia and Croatia were subordinated directly to the Military Council of the Viennese court. Although the nexus with Croatia—which was a kingdom with a separate diet, but was also represented in the Hungarian diet—went through considerable changes in the later part of the eighteenth century, its autonomy was not in question.³⁸

In such a complex political situation, one of the greatest forces providing coherence to the country was the estate of the nobility. The socially and culturally extremely heterogeneous nobility represented a kind of society within society. Its presence in Hungary was particularly strong both numerically and politically. The group of c. 350,000 noblemen and noblewomen (c. five per cent of the country's population) was exceedingly segmented socially. While the tiny faction of the magnates, sitting in the upper house of the diet, formed a different class, also members of the gentry could vary largely in privileges. To be sure, even those who lived practically at the level of the serfs (more than a third of the nobles) shared the same historical-political consciousness and enjoyed theoretically the same corporate duties and privileges; most importantly the duty to provide personal military service and the theoretical privilege of tax exemptions (in practice their legal rights and privileges varied a great deal).³⁹ The 'constitution' of the country—so many times evoked also in language debates—ensured the 'liberties' of the gentry (i.e. the *natio Hungarica*, sometimes also referred to as 'the *populus*') both towards the unprivileged serfs and the politically underrepresented citizenry of the free cities, and in the face of the ruler. While the 'political nation' meant the estates, that is, the nobility, the royal free cities and the Catholic clergy, in practice the cities were politically marginalised. The *natio Hungarica* had thus an exclusive meaning in several respects, serving the legitimising needs of the privileged

38 See more in the chapter by Lav Šubarić in this volume.

39 For the nobility's approximate numbers see G. Heckenast, "A honorációrok a reformkorban" [The *honoráció* in the Age of Reform], *Századok* 123 (1989), 427–442. For actual legal differences see J. Poór, *Adók, katonák, országgyűlések, 1796–1811/12* [Taxes, soldiers, diets] (Budapest 2003); For the nobility's actual tax exemptions see I. Szijártó, *Nemesi társadalom és politika. Tanulmányok a 18. századi magyar rendiségről* [Gentry society and politics. Studies on the Hungarian estates in the 18th century] (Budapest 2006), 145–161.

class, just like the medieval ethnogenetic myth, which the gentry was so keen to propagate.⁴⁰ Besides, in the European concert of nation-states the prestige and sovereignty of the realm was felt to depend on their mythical origins and historical merits.⁴¹ No wonder that the appropriation and redefinition of the concept of *natio* became one of the principal goals of the language movement.

Paradoxically, while Latin as the language of the elite, and the official language of the diet, the curia and higher administration, served the interests of the gentry for so many centuries and was a symbol of their collective identity, the gentry, which was overwhelmingly Magyar, increasingly favoured the Hungarian language as the language of communication. Using the Hungarian language in any communication relating to the diet was one of the major demands of the nobility from 1790, except for the magnates.⁴² At the same time, in advocating the Hungarian language the diet, which represented society so distortedly (both socially and ethnically), remained often blind to the rights and demands of national minorities.

Although *Staatistik* and *Staatenkunde* became increasingly part of political thinking and administration also in Hungary,⁴³ and the debate over the Hungarian language was often informed by statistical arguments, using contradictory demographical data,⁴⁴ we may rightly suppose that the majority

40 Cf. fn. 6 in the chapter by Henrik Hönich.

41 B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky, "Towards an Intellectual History of Patriotism in East Central Europe in the Early Modern Period," in *Whose Love of Which Country?*, 48–49.

42 The very first achievement of the diet in this respect was the permission to publish the diaries of the diet in a bilingual version (making the official one the Magyar). A detailed presentation and a source edition on the political dimensions of the language movement is by Szekfű, *Iratok*.

43 See Zs. B. Török, "Patriotic Scholarship: The Adaptation of State Sciences in Late Eighteenth-Century Transylvania," in *Whose Love of Which Country?*, 663–688; id., "The Ethnicity of Knowledge: Statistics and Landeskunde in late eighteenth-century Hungary and Transylvania," in *Encountering Otherness: Diversities and Transcultural Experiences in Early Modern European Culture*, ed. by G. Abbattista (Trieste 2011), 147–162.

44 Demographical data were already part of Joseph II's language decree and remained an important argument for the state (cf. fns. 28 and 37). The distorted number of Magyars propagated by the state could also be used in nationalist discourse, like in the novel *Jólánka* by András Dugonics (see L. Szörényi, "Dugonics András," in *Memoria Hungarorum* [Budapest 1996], 122). For a few examples see Matthias Rát, "Ueber die Ausrottung der Ungrischen Sprache (Raab, 20 Apr. 1787)," *Stats-Anzeigen* 12 (1788), 340–353, at 344; [Nicolaus Skerlec?], *Declaratio ex Parte Nunciorum Regni Croatiae, quoad inducendam Hungaricam linguam* (n.d. [1790]), 4. In response to Skerlec see [Imre Péchy], *De usu Linguae Hungaricae in publicis* (Pest 1806), 18. Also see István Kultsár, "Kik a magyarok?" [Who are the Hungarians?], *Hazai Tudósítások*, no. 23 (21 Mar. 1807), 186. On Ferenc

of the nobility saw the problem through the distorting prism of their estate. As proper statistics were largely missing, the actual ethnic proportion of the country may still be a question of discussion. The most reliable available work dates to 1843, which gives the following numbers: out of c. 13 million inhabitants, Magyars numbered c. 4.8 million, Romanians 2.2, Slovaks 1.7, Germans 1.3, Croats (including the group of Šokci) 1.3, Serbs 0.8, Ruthenians (Rusyns) 0.45, Jews 0.25.⁴⁵

Unlike the major part of the nobility, members of the Viennese court were much more aware of the proper dimensions of multi-ethnicity. This was reflected also in József Ürményi's introduction to the *Ratio educationis*, which presented Hungary's different nations, religions and subjects (legal statuses):

No one who is not a stranger to Hungarian affairs may doubt that in the kingdom and the provinces annexed to it one can distinguish, besides

Kazinczy's reaction to Kultsár, see A. Miskolczy, "Kazinczy Ferenc nemzetszemlélete" [The concept of "nation" by Kazinczy], *Kisebbségkutatás* 18 (2009), 32–45. See also József Dessewffy, "Eggy két szó a magyar nyelvről, literatúráról . . .," in A. Miskolczy, "Eggy két szó a magyar nyelvről, literatúráról, és annak közönséggé tételéről s elterjesztéséről a hazában: Dessewffy József (kétszer is) elutasított értekezése a magyar nyelvről (1808, 1816)" ["A few words on making public and spreading the Magyar language and literature": József Dessewffy's twice-rejected treatise on the Magyar language (1808, 1816)], *Levéltári Közlemények* 80 (2009), 299–327, at 320.

- 45 Alexius von Fényes, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn* (Pest 1843), 1: 39–40. See also R. J. W. Evans, "The Politics of Language and the Languages of Politics: Latin and the Vernaculars in Eighteenth-Century Hungary," in *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Scott and B. Simms (Cambridge 2010), 202. Cf. A. Gergely, "The Crisis of Feudalism and the Age of Reform (1790–1848)," *A Companion to Hungarian Studies*, ed. by L. Kósa (Budapest 1999), 159–169. Like Evans, Gergely also appears to follow Fényes, but he counts 6 million Magyars and 2 million Germans. Fényes certainly needs corrections also because we must fully agree with Evans that "many people at the time had little or no sense of ethnic identity anyway, so such aggregations are largely at best meaningless and at worst mischievous." In Transylvania, the population was most probably greater than 1.5 million (the number given by Fényes) as this was reached already at the end of the 18th century. See R. K. Nyárádi, "Erdély népességének etnikai és vallási tagolódása a magyar államalapítástól a dualizmus koráig" [The ethnic and religious division of the population of Transylvania from the beginning of the Hungarian state until the times of the Dual Monarchy], in *A Központi Statisztikai Hivatal Népeségstudományi Kutató Intézetének történeti demográfiai füzetei*, no. 3 (1987), 7–55, available at www.kia.hu/konyvtar/erdely/emnyar.htm, accessed on 15 Apr. 2014. Moreover, Fényes subsumes the Roma population, which was difficult to count, into other groups. The Roma are conspicuously absent from the language debates and their relationship to Latin language and education—as well as of the Jewish population—is a subject that requires further research.

minor ones, altogether seven notable, rather numerous nations, which greatly differ from each other in their language. These are the properly said Hungarians, Germans, Slavs, Croats, Ruthenians, Illyrians and Wallachs, who all use their own language, different in many respects from each other.⁴⁶

In this social, ethnic and political situation, it is hardly surprising that the Hungarian language movement, so elemental to the growth of Hungarian literature and culture, soon became a political issue of major importance.

Competing National Identities

While Latin was embedded in the legal identity of the estates (including also the Catholic clergy), it was also integral to the ‘national identity’ of another supra-ethnic group, the vaguely defined group of the *Hungari*. These learned people, regardless of their ethnic and social status, identified themselves as members of the Hungarian nation on the basis of a territorial and often legalistic-historical identification with the body of the realm.⁴⁷ By the end of the eighteenth century, ‘*Hungarus* patriotism’ had a history of more than two centuries: its characteristic representatives—like Matthias Bel (1684–1749) or Gergely Berzeviczy (1763–1822)—came typically from the north of Hungary (present-day Slovakia), the eastern counties of Croatia and other parts and cities of the realm where multi-ethnic cultural exchange had long traditions. *Hungarus identity* could—in a varying degree—also entail identification with the kingdom’s *dynastic identity*, which was cultivated by the House of Austria with the backing of Catholic symbols and institutions.

46 “Nemini, qui quidem in rebus Hungariae peregrinus non sit, potest esse dubium, in Regno hoc, ac Provinciis eidem adnexis praeter minores alias, septem omnino censeri nationes praecipuas, easque admodum numerosas, quae lingua plurimum discrepant, videlicet: a) Hungaros proprie dictos, b) Germanos, c) Slavos, d) Croatas, e) Ruthenos, f) Illyrios, g) Valachos, qui omnes linguis utuntur propriis, multumque inter se dissidentibus.” *Ratio educationis totiusque rei literariae per Regnum Hungariae et Provincias eidem Adnexas* (Vienna 1777), 7.

47 The complex phenomenon of “*Hungarus* consciousness” is analysed in this volume by Ambrus Miskolczy. On the typically Hungarian secondary literature of “*Hungarus* consciousness,” see fn. 20 *ibid.* (p. 69), and fn. 7 in the chapter of Kontler and Aspaas (p. 97). Also see G. Almási, “Latin and the Language Question in Hungary (1700–1844). A Survey of Hungarian Secondary Literature (Part 1),” *Das Achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich* 26 (2013), 211–319 (also see the forthcoming Part 2 in vol. 28).

These larger identity constructs—related to the use of the Latin language—were, of course, neither static nor mutually exclusive. They all could be embraced without discrepancies, and not even ethnic-linguistic identities were necessarily in disagreement with any of them: a *Hungarus* could feel loyal to the historical-territorial entity of the Kingdom of Hungary, to the ruling dynasty of the Habsburgs, to the ethnic group of Germans, Slovaks, etc., and to the Hungarian ‘noble nation.’ Nevertheless, the earlier harmony between these cultural-political (‘national’) identities was rapidly dissolving at the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ In search of the lost harmony, some *Hungarus* intellectuals also would embrace in the early nineteenth century a kind of Magyar identity next to their ethnic Slovak, German, Croat, Romanian, Serbian or Ruthenian one.

What emerged during this process by the beginning of the nineteenth century—particularly among the Magyars—was the clear dominance of the ethnolinguistic identity over competing collective identities. Ethnolinguistic nationalism became the dominating “frame of vision and basis for individual and collective action.”⁴⁹ Language choice was no more a matter of communication, as enlightened intellectuals wanted it, but was increasingly a question of identity.⁵⁰ At stake was the making of a new ideology, that of a nation determined by language. The function of Latin as one of the focal points of the nobility’s collective identity, and at the same time a vehicle for integrating intellectuals into the higher echelons of society (being an integrative and exclusive force at the same time), had served the nobility and the mobility of society well for many centuries. However, by the end of the eighteenth century this was no longer the case and Hungarian already had greater integrative potential than Latin, while being exclusive in a different way. In answering the difficult question of why this happened and why so abruptly, one should keep the delicate social setting in mind. Obviously, enlightened noblemen had quite different expectations towards Hungarian as the vehicle of enlightened thought than the learned commoners, whose campaign for their mother tongue entailed the radical and immediate rise of their social-cultural prestige, since the Hungarian language was *the* field of their expertise; it was a new terrain of

48 See the case of Maximilian Hell in the chapter by László Kontler and Per Pippin Aspaas in this volume.

49 R. Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge 1996), 18–19.

50 This question has been elaborated in L. Kontler, “Introduction: The Enlightenment in Central Europe?,” in vol. 1 of *Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeastern Europe 1775–1945*, ed. by B. Trencsényi et al. (Budapest 2006), 33–44.

rivalry within the patriotic paradigm.⁵¹ At the same time, Hungarian could be promoted by the gentry of the counties—so proud of their Latin culture—for quite different reasons. One of them was certainly the hope of obtaining the positions of non-Magyars in public offices and the state administration. Yet, it was not all about rivalry for offices, as it would fail to explain why members of the gentry promoted Magyarisation when in theory they had counter-interests to raising the number of Hungarian speakers. It is perhaps right to point out that the ideology of language as the most important constituent of nationality kept people with diverse social-political agendas together. The language movement can thus be interpreted as an experimental field for the programme of the concordance of interests of the different social groups, which was the basis for later civil reforms concerning a free press, liberty of expression and the taxation of the nobility.⁵²

To close our argument we take the examples of two learned men—the *Hungarus* scholar Lajos (Ludwig) Schedius (1768–1847) and the fervent nationalist István Horvát (1784–1846)—in order to illustrate the complex ways the Latin language figured at the ‘crossroads of identity’ at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. These radically different intellectuals lived in the later phase of the language movement. They both supported the spread of Hungarian, but on very different grounds, and both used Latin in their communication although in rather different forms.

Born in the town of Győr (Raab) in west Hungary, Schedius came from a German Lutheran patrician family with significant intellectual relatives and ancestors.⁵³ Among his teachers we find the great *Hungarus* scholar Márton Schwartner, famous for a statistical and geographical history of Hungary,⁵⁴ and the Göttingen professor Christian Gottlob Heyne. Schedius was a versatile intellectual wholly committed to enlightened thought. Next to teaching aesthetics and Greek at the university, publishing German and Hungarian journals oriented at book culture and science, being interested in the education of children of any age, map-making, literary, social and cultural aspects of history,

51 This argument is much based on the works of Ferenc Bíró. See for example F. Bíró, *A legnagyobb pennaháború. Kazinczy Ferenc és a nyelvkérdés* [The grandest quill war. Ferenc Kazinczy and the language question] (Budapest 2010), 1–120. See more in Almási, “Latin and the Language Question.”

52 Cf. Kerényi.

53 On Schedius see P. Balogh, *Ars scientiae. Közéltések Schedius Lajos János tudományos pályájának dokumentumaihoz* [An approach to the documents of Ludwig Johann Schedius’s scientific career] (Debrecen 2007).

54 M. Schwartner, *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern. Ein Versuch* (Pest 1798). It was re-edited in an enlarged version in 1809–1811 and also translated into French.

and hermeneutics, he was also a dedicated entrepreneur (e.g. publisher of journals, owner of a restaurant, renter of a mine, silkworm breeder, etc.) and engaged in different social charities. In his most important pedagogical work, the *Systema rei scholasticae*, which was a complex educational programme for Lutherans, Schedius demanded better infrastructure for the teaching of the Hungarian language and emphasised the need for Magyarisation (*hungarizari*), settling native Hungarian-speaking teachers of the language in non-Magyar areas too.⁵⁵

Unlike Schedius, Horvát was born into a poor but noble family in Székesfehérvár (central Hungary).⁵⁶ His father was an artisan who died early, leaving behind nine children. Thanks to his talents, Horvát won a royal scholarship already in secondary school, which made his university studies in Pest possible. Among his teachers were Schwartner (whom he attacked later for not being patriotic enough) and Schedius. When after his studies Horvát applied for the chair of the Hungarian language at the university (a department established in 1800 but attracting only a couple of students), Schedius was one of his strongest supporters; he claimed the Hungarian language had no future if the job was not given to Horvát.⁵⁷ However, Horvát was rejected and had to wait several years to enter the staff of the university, where he later taught, among others, diplomatics and Hungarian. Meanwhile, he worked as a home tutor and later secretary to the enlightened aristocrat, Lord Chief Justice József Ürményi (responsible for the *Ratio educationis* of 1777), and served as the librarian of the later Széchényi Library. The leitmotif in Horvát's intellectual activity was Hungarian nationalism, which he coupled with xenophobia against anything non-Magyar. Making the ethnic-linguistic principle central to his thinking and rhetoric became apparently integral to the way he carved out a place for himself between the university and the Magyar intellectual/gentry public. He avidly collected any bits of historical sources relating to the Magyar past, any document that supported the ethnogenetic myth of the nobility, but

55 Balogh, *Ars scientiae*, 152.

56 For István Horvát see D. Dümmerth, "Schwartner Márton és a nyelvi gondolat" [Márton Schwartner and the language idea], *Irodalomtörténet* 45 (1957), 215–223; *Mindennapi Horvát István pest-budai naplója, 1805–1809* [The diary of I. H. in Pest-Buda], ed. by ELTE Apáczay Cs. J. gyakorlati isk. (Budapest 1967); A. Szalai, *Pályakezdő évek Pest-Budán: Horvát István és íróbarátai, 1800–1815* [Early years of a career in Pest-Buda: I. H. and his writer friends] (Budapest 1990); P. Dávidházi, *Egy nemzeti tudomány születése: Toldy Ferenc és a magyar irodalomtörténet* [The birth of national scholarship. Ferenc Toldy and the Hungarian history of literature] (Budapest 2004), passim.

57 D. Dümmerth, "Horvát István ifjúsága" [The youth of I. H.], *Az Egyetemi Könyvtár Évkönyvei* 1 (1962), 179–201, at 188.

he was uninterested in offering broader historical analyses for this data. While Schedius taught and published in Latin and German, Horvát published mostly in Hungarian but gave his lectures mainly in Latin. When in 1841 the Council of the Lieutenancy made an inquiry among university professors about the introduction of the Hungarian language to university education, it was only the elderly Schedius who responded positively. He claimed that the language of education should switch to Hungarian as early as possible so that academic life could have a greater influence on public life, and the knowledge of Latin would cease to be ruined by low-level familiar usage. He believed that subjects like history, diplomacy and genealogy could be taught in Hungarian immediately.⁵⁸ Unlike “the German Schedius,” Horvát argued for keeping Latin, and opened the 1842/3 academic year with an oration in Latin. When in 1844 the language of teaching at the university was switched to Hungarian by the force of the law, Horvát protested that it was too early to abandon Latin in diplomacy, numismatics and genealogy.⁵⁹

Whereas Schedius was one of the last *Hungarus* intellectuals who could develop a harmony between his different identities and social-political loyalties, and preserve the enlightened attitude of the initiators of the language movement, Horvát was an opinion leader of the new generation of intellectuals for whom the choice of language was an ideological decision informed as much by enlightened concepts as by the social dimension of an emerging intellectual class. This new generation of intellectuals, on the one hand, had noble pretensions and happily identified with noble interpretations of past and present narratives of Magyardom and, on the other hand, were socially-politically frustrated and aimed at rewriting the elitist concept of the nation—deeply linked to the Latin language—in a way that could provide them greater prestige.

The language movement, which later turned into a bitter fight between Magyars and Croats, was closed around 1844. Higher education (except for a small number of grammar schools) changed to the Hungarian language and the language of law and all forms of official communication within Hungary became finally Hungarian, but Croats—despite the desperate demand of the Magyar gentry—were allowed to respond in Latin (though not in the diet), and continued using it in their parliament until 1847. In Transylvania, the Hungarian language movement was less vehement and the resistance of the Saxon population was more successful. When in 1847 the Transylvanian diet finally switched to Hungarian and the laws were published in Hungarian,

58 Balogh, *Ars scientiae*, 163–164.

59 Margócsy, “A magyar nyelv jelenléte,” 75–76.

the Saxons could keep German in their administrative bodies and were also provided an official German translation of the laws. Changes in higher education, which remained entirely in Latin, began only in the late 1840s.⁶⁰

Why This Book?

It is self-evident that language played a crucial role in the complex process of identity transformation outlined above. From the late eighteenth century on, language choice was not only a matter of communication, as the Enlightenment understood it, of conveying ideas and reaching the people, but increasingly the crucial element of cultural-political identity in the linguistically heterogeneous lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen.

As the core element of national identity based on ethnolinguistic principles, language has been already for a long time in the focus of separate national scholarly traditions. Research has concentrated on the history of respective language movements and the making of vernaculars into national languages. Viewed from a teleological perspective, these processes were perceived as heroic stories of national self-assertion. In this context, Latin was one-sidedly viewed as a problem, a retarding element on the road of national progress. Typically, the language question has been addressed in the literature either as an aspect of *language reform*, ranging from the problems of standardisation to the creation of a new, modernised vocabulary (investigated by historians of literature), or of *political reform*, the political movement that transformed the feudal societies of Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia into a modern state (which has been the field of 'proper' historians).

Beyond the confines of the national historiography, however, the general problem of language use did not garner the interest it deserved. Especially the Latin language, despite its obvious significance as a common element in all the different stories of changing national identities in the kingdom, has never been the subject of monographic or collected studies.

This volume aims to fill this gap by exploring the role of Latin in the process of the creation of national identities in Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia from a multidisciplinary perspective. With the participation of scholars of different disciplinary and national backgrounds, its goal is to explore the complex and dynamic relation between language and national identity at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century by placing the Latin

60 Szekfű, *Iratok*, 140–190.

language in the focal point. Moreover, concentrating on the changing status, socio-cultural and political significance of the Latin language offers an ideal platform for leaving the constraints of national historiographies behind and contributing in new ways to the understanding of the common pasts of the peoples of historical Hungary. We also hope that the better understanding of this critical period in the history of the Latin language may help us capture the reasons behind its enduring popularity as a medium of communication in early modern Europe.

István Margócsy's chapter presents the prehistory of language ideology in eighteenth-century Hungary. By following the long and slow change in the understanding of language, from a mere *vehiculum* for thoughts and communication to the most important characteristic of a nation, he sheds light on the ideological and practical conflicts over the use of language.

In his analysis of a Hungarian-language pamphlet from 1790, advocating the use of the mother tongue and abandonment of Latin, *Henrik Hónich* shows how the elements from the earlier discourses of collective identities were employed to 'rewrite' and thus create new political languages in the service of promoting the mother tongue from a reinterpreted 'national' perspective. His chapter demonstrates how a detailed analysis of political languages can provide us with an insight into how new ideologies were created and made victorious.

One phenomenon, which in itself is rarely examined but often cited in the context of the use of Latin as the neutral supra-ethnic language, is the so-called *Hungarus* consciousness. *Ambrus Miskolczy* attempts to answer the question, what kind of 'national' identity did the *Hungari*/Hungarian patriots of non-Magyar origin have, and shows how this identity related to other legal-historical 'national' identities, in particular the nobility's narrow concept of the nation (*natio Hungarica*). In explaining the complexities of *Hungarus* consciousness, his chapter presents the socio-cultural contexts in which defences of the Latin language were developed and expressed.

In the eighteenth century, Jesuit scholars were foremost among those who continued championing the cause of Latin in learned communication. *László Kontler* and *Per Pippin Aspaas* explore the changes in the status of Latin after the suppression of the Society of Jesus through the shifting positions taken by the famous Viennese astronomer Maximilian Hell SJ. Hell's advocacy of Latin and strong *Hungarus* cultural allegiances were salient, but his reputation among the Hungarian political elite was ambivalent—partly because of his association with his assistant János Sajnovics's work on a Hungarian and 'Lappian' linguistic kinship, which supposedly undermined that elite's discourse of origin and social distinctiveness.

Education was from the very beginning one of the core components of the language question. The introduction of Hungarian as a subject in higher education, and later the replacement of Latin as the language of education, was never absent from the parliamentary debates from 1790 to the 1840s, but the framework for deliberations on the respective roles of Latin and the vernaculars was set much earlier. In her chapter, *Teodora Shek Brnardić* analyses the central text of the educational policy of the late eighteenth century, the *Ratio educationis* of 1777, which finally subordinated the school system to the state. This educational plan for the Kingdom of Hungary had a formative influence on the culture of the country, reaffirming the central role of Latin in education while at the same time promoting elementary education in different native languages. In contrast to the continuing humanistic tradition centred on the rhetorical values of Latin, the *Ratio* put the language firmly in service of Enlightenment ideals, shifting the focus from learning Latin to learning through Latin.

The creation of new national identities is inseparable from the emergence of a broader public sphere. New print media, journals and newspapers mobilised opinions on an unprecedented scale and prepared the ground for political demands. *Andrea Seidler* follows the general development of journalism in Hungary, its aims and its influence on national identity, from its origins as a Latin medium, to the dominance of German journals and newspapers, and the emergence of a press in the Hungarian language, which was both the consequence of the heightened sensibility for the vernacular and in the latter case a motor of further national aspirations. Building on a similar theme, yet concentrating solely on the Latin-language press, *Piroska Balogh* analyses how Latin could be put to different, even opposing uses, from the assertion of Hungarian constitutive independence to the creation of imperial community awareness, and from symbolising supra-ethnic *Hungarus* identity to propaganda of the Magyar national cause.

As the new language-based national identity became widespread among those of Magyar ethnicity, other language communities came under the increased pressure of the homogenising efforts of the Magyar national movement. The most notable resistance against such tendencies came from the associated Kingdom of Croatia. The Croatian nobility rallied behind the Latin language, protected by the traditional but increasingly contested legal framework of Croatian autonomy. *Lav Šubarić* follows the change of attitudes towards Latin in Croatia from its first traumatic abolishment as an official language under Joseph II to its final replacement by the vernacular as a consequence of the Illyrian movement in 1847. He shows how the Latin language gradually turned from the cornerstone of the traditional legal identity of the Croatian nobility to a mere tactical device of the new Slavic national movement

used to stall Magyar aspirations. *Zvezdana Sikirić's* chapter concentrates on two 1832 speeches from the Croatian parliament, a pivotal year in the history of the language question in Croatia, of which one advocated Latin and rejected the introduction of Hungarian, and the other opposed the extension of civil rights to the Protestants in Croatia. In her analysis of these speeches, she reconstructs the essential traits of the Croatian feudal elite's collective identity.

In contrast to Croats, the Slavs of northern Hungary, today Slovakia, had no legal stake in the political institutions of the kingdom. The Slavic literati reacted to the Magyar national movement partly with a strong but ineffective endorsement of Latin, and partly with a linguistic nationalism of their own. This nationalism, for which Latin provided an important medium, was not based on any political particularism, but on cultural pan-Slavism. In his chapter, *Alexander Maxwell* explores Slovak ideas of 'the Slavic language,' illustrating with three Latin texts from 1787, 1826 and 1847 the Slovak assumption that all Slavic vernaculars represent facets of one single language.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Latin was also used by those communities that had no distinct Latin cultural tradition of their own. *Nenad Ristović's* contribution examines the use of Latin among the Serbs, who accommodated to it after migration to the Habsburg-ruled lands in the late seventeenth century. While suspicious of Latin as the language of the proselytising Roman Church, they nevertheless introduced it into their educational system for practical reasons, both as a necessity in the Latin-dominated political environment and as a means to avoid stricter censorship of teaching in their religious schools. As a consequence, a distinct Serbian Latin culture developed. It reached its pinnacle at the time when, after overcoming their own linguistic dichotomy between the vernacular on the one side and the traditional literary languages like Church Slavonic or Slavonic-Serbian on the other, the Serbs' national identity, earlier primarily defined by religious Orthodoxy, was undergoing a transformation to the ethnolinguistic one.

Another interesting case is the appropriation of Latin language and culture among the Romanians of Hungary and Transylvania, as examined by *Levente Nagy*. Spread through Greek Catholic schools established in the wake of the church union of 1697, Latin soon made an imprint on Romanian identity, as clerical intellectuals adopted the discourse on Roman origins and the autochthony of Romanians and subsequently tried to re-Latinise their culture by the means of language.

Taken together, these contributions illustrate the wide range of uses to which the old language of the Romans could be employed for social, political, cultural and economic purposes by different segments of society, and they conclusively dispose of the old notion of Latin's one-dimensional role in the process of the transformation of collective identities.

PART 1

The Politics of Language



When Language Became Ideology: Hungary in the Eighteenth Century

István Margócsy

In Hungaria Latinae Musae adeo frequentes, ut vix usquam magis.¹



It almost seems paradoxical to us today that the eighteenth century in Hungary stands out as the heyday of the Latin language and culture. Not only was Latin the official language and the language of jurisprudence or theology, but also the language of those writings we call *belles-lettres*. Before the 1770s, the culture of Hungary was generally characterised by the Latin language, since all the people acting within this culture firstly knew Latin very well, secondly identified their culture with the Latin tradition, and thirdly put their own mother tongue in terms of cultural relevance only in a secondary position (if any at all).

Typical of this period are the exaggerations of the role of Latin. In the middle of the eighteenth century, for example, two famous Hungarian scientists (Iosephus Desericus, a member of the Piarists in Rome, and Matthias Bel, a Lutheran professor from Pressburg) described the state of culture in Hungary using the same kind of overstatement: With great conviction they tell that in Hungary even the shepherds in the mountains and moors would converse in Latin.² Indeed, these anecdotes might be just empty hyperboles, impulsive praises of Hungary, but they also fundamentally describe a very realistic notion at the same time. In its proper context, it expresses the idea that Latin—from a proportional point of view—was regarded as a living language to a greater extent in Hungary than anywhere else in Europe. In this light, we can better understand why Maria Theresa not only assigned great importance to the Latin language in her *Ratio Educationis* (1777), but also explicitly

¹ I. Desericus, *Pro cultu litterarum in Hungaria Vindicatio* (Roma 1743), 57.

² M. Bel, *Tractatio sive caput de re vestiari et moribus Hungarorum* (manuscript 1720–1730). Published in Hungarian translation in Mátyás Bél, *Magyarország népének élete 1730 táján*, ed. and trans. by I. Wellmann (Budapest 1984), 462; Desericus, *Pro cultu litterarum*, 65.

declared Latin the second mother tongue (*lingua vivens, secunda lingua materna*) of Hungary.³

Some examples might provide a better understanding of this situation in all its intricacies. It should not come as any surprise that scientific, theological and rhetorical treatises as well as long didactic poems on zoology, botany and physics (also serving as teaching material in schools) were written in Latin.⁴ But it is indeed noteworthy that eighteenth-century heroic epics on Hungarian pre-history and the conquest of the Carpathian Basin,⁵ as well as the witty rooco epigrams on literature and morals (e.g. the contemporary fashion of drinking cocoa or smoking tobacco),⁶ emerged in the Latin language. It is also remarkable that the famous French novel by François Fénelon entitled *The Adventures of Telemachus, Son of Ulysses* was first translated into Latin in Hungary⁷ before it was fashioned into Hungarian a few decades later. Finally, it seems outright contradictory that the most avant-garde intellectuals of Hungary at the end of the eighteenth century (most of them members of Freemasonry), already absorbing the most progressive contemporary European political ideas and literature, at the same time formulated their aims and ideas on radical renewal and reform of the Hungarian nation in Latin and in their conspiratorial circles sang the chants of the French Revolution (the *Marseillaise* or *La Carmagnole*)⁸ in Latin.

3 *Ratio Educationis publicae totiusque rei litterariae per regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1777).

4 See for example I. Molnar, *Zoologicon complexum Historiam Naturalem animalium* (Buda 1780); id., *Phytologicon complexum Historiam Naturalem vegetabilium* (Buda 1780); id., *Oryctologicon complexum Historiam Naturalem mineralium* (Buda 1780); G. A. Szerdahely, *Historia Uraniae Musae...* (Vienna 1787).

5 E.g. L. Repszeli, *Hunnias, sive hunnorum e Scythia asiatica egressus...* ([Tyrnaviae] 1731); P. Schetz, *Metamorphosis Hungariae. Seu fabulosa regionis, praesidorum, aliarumque rerum quarundam memorabilium origo* ([Tyrnaviae] 1716); and A. Adanyi, *Fastorum Hungariae Pars I et II* ([Cassovia] 1742). In the subsequent century this was to become the predominant topic of the Hungarian historical literature.

6 G. A. Szerdahely, *Silva Parnassi Pannonii* ([Viennae] 1788), 5: “diversa Carmina, quae mihi aliquando inter negotia fere non cogitanti exciderunt, aut, cum tempus erat indulgendi animo, sine cura facta sunt: Bona, et Mala.” [Various poems, which now and again poured out of me almost without thinking during work, or, when there was time to think, written in a carefree fashion, good and bad.]

7 G. Trautwein, *Telemachus gallice conscriptus, ob amoenissimam tum tradendae, tum addiscendae christianae politicae methodum in omnes fere Europae linguas transfusus, nunc nitidior Latinitate donatus* ([Cassovia] 1750)—the Hungarian translations (from Latin) came out in 1755, 1783, etc.

8 *Marseillaise*: “Exsurge natio lacertosa, sume ensem destructorem in manus! [...] Cives, arma sumamus, in sampum prodiamus!” See also the *Ça Ira*: “Ah, ibit hoc, ibit hoc, ibit hoc, Aristocratae vobiscum ad Lanternam; Ah, ibit hoc, ibit hoc, Aristocratae, vos pendebitis!”

At the beginning of the century, a new teacher of the local grammar school in the sizeable city of Győr (Raab), who had just recently returned from Germany, tried to introduce Hungarian into the city schools and suggested teaching in Hungarian as well. This attempt however ended in a fiasco and the teacher immediately had to quit his position. Throughout the entire eighteenth century, teachers and pupils at schools and the professors and students at universities read and conversed exclusively in Latin. Students were even forbidden from speaking Hungarian outside of the school and university. And even in the case that a student was suspended as punishment, he still had to give his valediction in Latin. When the outstanding poet Mihály Csokonai was excluded from the University of Debrecen in 1795, he made an enormous scandal by choosing Hungarian as the proper language for his farewell address to the students.⁹ As far as the professors were concerned, they found it natural to discuss matters of science and culture in Latin only. And at the end of the century, in a discussion about the introduction of Hungarian into academic life, a Hungarian professor at the University of Debrecen, the historian Miklós Sinai, considered the use of the mother tongue the path towards barbarism (*via ad barbariem*).¹⁰ The ramifications of the universal Latin education were actually decidedly significant: it allowed the Hungarian intelligentsia to achieve and retain international visibility and authority. However, with the rise of mother tongues in the most important cultural centres of contemporary Europe, Latin language skills became ever more anachronistic. In recalling his experiences at school, the Hungarian poet Ferenc Kölcsey only found words of irony to describe his childhood at the beginning of the nineteenth century: how strange it was, he remarked, that back then he knew Latin much better than his own language, the Hungarian tongue.¹¹

It was not only the two-thousand-year European tradition which provided a justification for this universal Latin culture, but also the prestige of the old instrumental philosophical concept of language—that language serves solely as a vehicle of thought and as a means of communication. An individual language would not bear any substantial feature or exert any influence on the motion of thought; the obvious difference between languages would not be more than a practical problem easily resolved through universal epistemology

9 M. Vitéz Csokonai, “Búcsúzó beszéd, 1795. jún. 15” [A farewell speech], in *Összes Művei* (Budapest 1943), 2: 791–798.

10 M. Sinai, “Sinai Miklós sajátkezű naplójegyzetei” [Nicolaus Sinai’s ms. diary, of 25 Apr. 1797], ed. by K. Rácz, *Magyar Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Figyelmező* 4, no. 11 (1873), 528.

11 From a letter to his friend Pál Szemere, 20 Mar. 1833, in F. Kölcsey, *Összes Művei* [Complete Works], 3 vols. (Budapest 1961), 3: 504–507.

and semantics. Above all, representatives of the Latin tradition did not despise their mother tongue, they were simply indifferent towards it. According to them, Latin should dominate simply because it could be understood everywhere in Europe; hence cultural goals could be realised faster. As a result of such theories, large compendia aiming to depict the entire cultural history of Hungary emerged at the end of the century, e.g. two encyclopaedias on literary history, the one composed by the Piarist monk Pál Wallaszky, the other by the Lutheran pastor Elek Horányi. The authors set out to describe any piece of writing in Latin, and any book or manuscript ever written in Hungary regardless of their language. In neat alphabetical order they listed Latin, Hungarian, German, Slovakian and other books next to each other (works in Latin of course outnumber the rest of the writings).¹² Within this concept of culture, Latin would only play a pragmatic mediating role: it would simply be the greatest, the richest and the most developed of all languages, but even these outstanding qualities would remain irrelevant as the abstract world of thought remained universal and free of any specific linguistic characteristics. Thus the language reformers, who were trying to raise Hungarian to the cultural level of Latin, transferred Latin patterns to the Hungarian; the translation of ancient classics into the mother tongue became a crucial tool of language development both in the teaching of Hungarian in schools and in creative belletristic endeavours.

The priority of the Latin language, on the one side, and the indifference towards the particular languages, on the other, was also reflected in the language policy in Hungary. In the eighteenth century, Hungary was a multilingual state, in which none of the local languages could reach a dominant majority. Though the Magyar population was the largest ethnic group, it only reached 40 per cent. Hence, it was both politically and culturally relevant that the language of administration and culture was not one of the vernaculars but Latin (a situation that lasted until the mid-nineteenth century). This policy allowed the different national groups within Hungary to live together peacefully and helped to avoid language conflicts and antagonisms. The politically dominating group, that is, the Hungarian nobility, which included many non-Magyars, defined itself by a strong historical and legal ideology and was not concerned with the cultural and linguistic particularities. Even in the Josephine decade, when the emperor tried to initiate an enormous linguistic reform by ordering the introduction of German as the official language instead of Latin, most

12 P. Wallaszky, *Conspectus reipublicae litterariae in Hungaria* ([Posonii et Lipsiae] 1785; [Buda] 1808); A. J. N. Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et Provincialium scriptis editis notorum*, vols. 1–3 ([Vienna] 1775–1777).

Hungarian counties pleaded for preservation of Latin and not for the introduction of Hungarian.¹³ Hungarian only started to gain political importance towards the end of the eighteenth century when a new national ideology had spread among the politically active elites.

In the 1770s the intellectual and cultural agitation began at first cautiously, but in the next decades ever more radically, to invest the Hungarian vernacular with a special role and to pursue the idea of the universal native language. The proponents of this (initially apolitical) movement wanted to have the whole culture of the nation Magyarised, and to have all cultural and scholarly activities, hitherto conducted in the universal Latin, to now take place in Hungarian. The motto of the movement was that every existing nation had so far acquired their cultural and scientific positions only by way of their respective mother tongues; a foreign language could not be useful for reaching this goal.¹⁴ The notion behind this ideology was that every single language was more than just a tool for communication and a vehicle for thoughts; language rather served as a substantial characteristic of collectives and societies in which it was spoken. The true character of a nation would be most visible in its language, while a nation, as a primal and organic community, was shaped by its language much more than by its history or constitution. This ideology attached extraordinary importance to language, its significance eclipsing all the other national or historical attributes. In fact, this ideology is still the basis of modern Hungarian language policy: it conducts all cultural efforts and endeavours and inspires both linguistic research and poetic works. Under its influence, Hungary's most important cultural institutions arose, such as the National Library or the National Museum, and it inspired the scientific discourse on the structure of the Hungarian language and its linguistic affinities and the collection and re-evaluation of documents on the history of Hungarian in the political and cultural life. And last but not least, this ideology gave rise to the influential movement of language renewal which transformed the literary language. During these years, all theories on the social renewal of Hungary were based on the conviction that the goal of modernisation could only be reached through the development and cultivation of the national language. A consequence of this conviction was the need to break the traditional

13 I. Soós, "II. József német nyelvrendelete és a 'hivatalos' Magyarország" [The German decree of Joseph II and "official" Hungary], in *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből*, ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 2005), 261–301. See also the "Introduction" in this volume.

14 See Bessenyei's work on Hungarian culture: G. Bessenyei, "Magyarság" [Magyardom] (1777), in *Programírások, Vitairatok, 1772–1790*, ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 2007), 425–433.

dominance of Latin in all fields of cultural and social life. This idea was supported through numberless publications several of them inspired by open calls for competition.¹⁵

With remarkable severity and excessive pride this ideology asserted and emphasised the ability of Hungarian to develop and imitate each single characteristic not only of Latin but also of Latin culture in general. In the following years (1780–1795), various translations of Latin and Greek classics were taken up, and a competition was ignited by the question of who could best translate Horace into Hungarian.¹⁶ The great poet and language reformer Ferenc Kazinczy considered his opus magnum to be the translation of the works of Sallust, which is why he went about this attempt not less than four times.¹⁷ All literary efforts of the time aimed solely to demonstrate that Hungarian could match the norms and standards of Latin. Today it appears ironic that the most enthusiastic praises of the Hungarian language, which not only ascribed to it general capability, but also emphasised that through its uniqueness and originality it was potentially the best language in the world, were first written in Latin.¹⁸ In other words, the most faithful believers in the exceptional perfection of Hungarian wrote their praises of that language in Latin.

In such an atmosphere, many schools around the middle of the eighteenth century started to incorporate a systematic study of Hungarian into their curriculum; in Latin classes non-obligatory lessons on Hungarian grammar and rhetoric would sometimes be allowed. Such studies served two functions: firstly, they enabled students who did not know Hungarian to become familiar

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- 15 See for example F. Kazinczy, “Über die Erhebung der ungarischen Sprache zur Sprache der öffentlichen Geschäfte in den Schulen in Ungarn. Eine Preisschrift (1808),” in G. Heinrich, *Kazinczy Ferenc tübingai pályaműve a magyar nyelvről 1808* (Budapest 1916), 37–124; S. Decsy, *Pannóniai Féniksz avagy hamvából fel-támadott magyar nyelv*. [Phoenix in Pannonia, or the resurrection of the Hungarian language] (Vienna 1790); S. Báróczy, *A védelmezett magyar nyelv* [In the defence of the Hungarian language] (Vienna 1790); *Magyar Grammatika, melyet készített Debreczenbenn egy magyar Társaság* [A Hungarian Grammar, made by a Hungarian Society in Debrecen] (Vienna 1795); J. Kis, *A magyar nyelvnek mostani állapotjáról* [On the present state of the Hungarian language] (Pest 1806).
- 16 Poems by Horace and Anacreon were published in bilingual edition by the journal of *Orpheus*, as well as in the volume *Heliconi virágok* [Flowers of Helicon] (Pressburg and Komárom 1791) edited by F. Kazinczy.
- 17 Published only posthumously: F. Kazinczy, *Sallustius C. C. épen maradt minden munkái* [The complete works of C. C. Sallust] (Pest 1836).
- 18 J. Ribiny, *Oratio de cultura linguae Hungaricae* ([Sopron] 1751); J. Hajnóczy, “Ratio proponendarum in comitiis Hungariae legum. Caput XII: De lingua (1790),” in *A magyar jakobinusok iratai* [The documents of Hungarian Jacobins], ed. by K. Benda (Budapest 1952–1957), 1: 61–88.

with it as a foreign language, and secondly, they developed in Hungarian the rhetorical patterns after the Latin model and facilitated the writing of works in Hungarian which were before written in Latin. The basic method of this kind of vernacular education focused on translation: the Hungarian text was expected to mirror the Latin original in terms of grammar, rhetoric and style. The great grammatical treatises described Hungarian according to the model of Latin grammar, even though the structural difference between them was well documented by that time. The classical grammatical tradition was so strong that it caused language scholars to look for Latin declensions and conjugations in Hungarian sentences. When the Hungarian diet in 1792 passed a law according to which all schools and universities in Hungary had to start teaching Hungarian along with Latin, the movement achieved the desired ideological and cultural breakthrough. From then on, all cultural activities were to be focused on the mother tongue. However, the new legally guaranteed importance of the vernacular still could not totally disrupt the Latin tradition and both languages would be cultivated alongside each other in the following decades. There is an emblematic quality to an inaugural address given in 1802 by one of the first professors of Hungarian literature at the University of Pest, and one of the most capable scholars fighting for the Hungarian language, Miklós Révai, which began with the following words, in Latin: “Gentlemen, we do not know Hungarian, we are not able to speak in our own mother tongue, we will only have to learn it [*Nescimus ungarice*]”—for the Hungarian language and literature was still imparted through the medium of Latin at the university.¹⁹

But literature and literary theory already relied on the new language ideology. By the end of the eighteenth century no self-respecting author or poet would have dared to write his works in any language other than Hungarian. Latin poems mostly belonged to the past (the neo-Latin poet Johannes Chrysostomus Hannulik, though famous in European literary circles, received little attention and no praise in Hungary), and even scientific works in Latin slowly started to appear obsolete.²⁰ In the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Hungarians already appreciated only works in Hungarian. The

19 N. Révai, *Prolusio I. habita in auspiciis collegii hungarici (1802)* ([Pest] 1806), 11: “Nihil deest linguae nostrae: nos illi defuimus, nos illi desumus. Culpam isti suam fateantur potius, qui sic ad angustias rediguntur: se, quae exprimenda poscuntur, Hungarice exprimere non scire sua negligentia; non vero linguae vitio ea Hungarice non posse exprimi.” [There is no fault in our language: It is us, who failed it and continue to fail it. Those, who are deficient in it, should rather admit their fault, that due to their own negligence they cannot express in Hungarian that, which must be expressed; it is not the fault of the language that these things cannot be expressed in Hungarian.]

20 J. C. Hannulik, *Lycorum libri IV* ([n.d.] 1780–1781); id., *Ode ad Alexandrum russorum imperatorem . . . anno 1804 scripta* ([Pest] 1804).

dispersion of their native language and culture was closely linked to the diminishing appreciation for the cultural past. The concept of a native language culture excluded all works and phenomena from other languages. Only a quarter of a century after the two already mentioned compendia of universal culture in Hungary, the first Hungarian literary history appeared, this time describing exclusively works in Hungarian and excluding all books of born Hungarians not writing in Hungarian (e.g. the author looked down upon the library of Matthias Corvinus, anachronistically perceiving his acquirement of books in foreign languages as a waste of money and a neglect of Hungarian culture).²¹ The new overriding opinion on language and culture was the total opposite of the archaic concept of those universal compendia. The Hungarian language was considered the only key to Hungarian culture and any piece of work that was not written in Hungarian had to be strictly ruled out as alien. Young authors of the 1820s even criticised Ferenc Kazinczy who dared to translate a German-language poetic work originally written by a Hungarian bishop. In the eyes of this new generation, this amounted to treason.²²

The discussion and debates over culture and language of the time bore a strong political meaning. After Joseph II had deceased, Hungarian society and the ruling nobility tried to change the official language and substitute Latin with Hungarian. Countless treatises on the political role of language and the suitability of Hungarian for political purposes were published, and the diet passionately and frequently discussed the topic of language, but it would take another fifty years for Hungarian to be legally installed as the administrative language. This brought about enormous benefits for the Hungarian culture, but at the same time caused severe disadvantages in terms of politics. The national minorities, first in Croatia, and later the Slovaks, formed their own national movements after the Hungarian model and started to claim their own linguistic and political rights. With that, the archaic language died out in Hungary and the bitter political conflicts of the irreconcilable national movements began. While Hungary stood out as the peaceful and comfortable home of the Latin Muses at the beginning of the eighteenth century, at the start of the subsequent century it became a patriotic duty to converse with the Muses in Hungarian only.

21 See in the introduction in S. Pápay, *A magyar Literatura Esmérete* [A Hungarian history of literature] (Veszprém 1808), 7–11.

22 The famous work was written by Johann Ladislaus Pyrker, entitled *Die Perlen der heiligen Vorzeit*; Kazinczy's translation: *A Szent Hajdan Gyöngyei* (Buda 1830). The leading figure among Kazinczy's opponents was Ferenc Toldy (born Franz Schedel), author of fundamental works on the Hungarian literature, later known as the "father of Hungarian literary history." Cf. the study by Ambrus Miskolczi on p. 88.

Which Language and Which Nation? Mother Tongue and Political Languages: Insights from a Pamphlet Published in 1790

Henrik Hórnich

One of the most important insights of ‘modernist theories’ of nationalism is that nations are recent phenomena.¹ The studies commonly called ‘modernist’ acquire this label by virtue of their common assessment that nationalism—from which they tend to derive the nation itself—is an invention of modernity. What matters foremost in this regard is nothing but mere temporality itself. Put as simply as possible, according to modernist theories both nationalism and nations are something novel that cannot be derived from what came before, from something ‘old,’ there being an inseparable link between nations and modernity. At the same time other theories have emerged as critiques of modernism emphasising the historical roots and embeddedness of nations. Primarily drawing on Anthony D. Smith, ‘ethnicity’ has gradually become one of the key concepts advanced by these theories. By probing the questions of temporality and continuity, some scholars seek to counter modernist theories and find the connections between modern nations and their pre-modern antecedents.² Though such classifications of theories of nationalism are to some extent guilty of creating ideal types,³ they certainly direct attention to the problem of the historicity of nations.

1 I would like to express my thanks in particular to István Szijártó and Gábor Almási, whose support, carefulness and competence helped me in accomplishing this study. I also thank the dedicated work of the translator Gábor Gyóri and the proofreader Thomas Szerecz.

2 For a survey of theories of nationalism, including especially modernist and ethno-symbolist theories, see the discussion of these theories in U. Özkirimli, *Theories of Nationalism* (New York 2000).

3 Even Ernest Gellner—who associated the emergence of modern nations primarily with the appearance of industrial civilisation and is traditionally considered one of the most important authors of modernism—emphasises that nationalism makes use of certain “cultural antecedents”: “It uses some of the pre-existent cultures, generally transforming them in the process, but it cannot possibly use them all.” E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford 1983), 48. At the same time, not even the most influential author among those who promote ethno-symbolist theories, Anthony D. Smith, questions the notion that modern

By focusing on a political text written at the end of the eighteenth century, I will attempt to pinpoint the emergence of the early forms of the conceptual and discursive apparatus that played a decisive role in the *longue durée* process of nineteenth-century Hungarian nation-building. I will build on the premise that if the “quest for collective political-communal identities”⁴ (manifest in the political literature from 1790–95) and the subsequent nineteenth-century forms of nationalist discourses inevitably follow from each other in an intellectual history account, it will then in a certain sense delimit the scope of interpretation. The notion of direct continuity between ‘nascent’ and ‘mature’ nationalisms deprive us of the ability to sketch a complex system of interaction between the two and makes it difficult to understand the antecedents of modern nationalism—insofar as it is possible at all—in their own context. Therefore, I will strive to interpret these late eighteenth-century discursive processes, which might best be referred to as pre-nationalist, with a textual analysis. This will not only allow the assessment of their *significance* from a later perspective, but will also help in attempting to reveal their contextual *meanings*.⁵ I will seek to present examples which show that we can only render the continuities and discontinuities inherent in concepts and political languages visible if, in addition to drawing inferences based on later forms, we also consider the conceptual-discursive substratum that—while continually changing itself—provided the space for the emergence of subsequent forms.

The few years following the death of Emperor Joseph II and the fall of Josephinism, as well as the torrent of pamphlets published at this time, offer an excellent terrain for an investigation of these issues. The vast quantity of texts of varying length, which tended to be related to politics and public affairs and encompassing ‘national’ subject matters, suggest that this period is of pre-eminent importance for intellectual history.

Since these texts constitute a rather heterogeneous group, we can only draw general conclusions once we have performed an appropriate number of

nations must be in some way conceptually distinguished from previous grand social-cultural organisations. A. D. Smith, “Nationalism,” in *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*, ed. by M. Hawkesworth and M. Kagan (London and New York 1992), 1114–1127.

4 Á. A. Kovács and Z. G. Szűcs, “Hogyan olvassuk a 18. század magyar politikai irodalmát?” [How should we read 18th-century Hungarian political literature?], *Korall* 10 (2009), 35.

5 By giving preference to “pre-nationalism” over “proto-nationalism,” I wish to ensure that through choosing the former term I can—in emphasising only the temporal relationship at the terminological level (the mere fact of one coming after the other)—avoid any implicit assertion of an overly forceful and one-sided continuity between the “early” and “developed” forms of nationalism, which ignores the context in which the texts under review were created.

separate analyses. Larger thematic units in the texts of these years may serve as points of departure and orientation: one of the most important of these themes is the relationship between national community and language. This appears crucial not only from the subsequent perspective of nineteenth-century Hungarian nation-building, but was also very relevant at the time: the final decades of the eighteenth century mark the period when the linguistic/ethnocultural concept of nation began to move to the foreground.⁶ In the

6 We should also briefly discuss the relationship between the late eighteenth-century identity constructions associated with the concepts of “nation” and “fatherland” and their medieval antecedents. Still very significant in the eighteenth century was the idea of a community based on the ethnogenetic discourse of the Hungarian estates, the foundations of which were laid down by Simon Kézai’s *Gesta Hungarorum* in the mid-1280s. At the same time, there was also the ethnocultural concept of community on a linguistic/cultural basis. The latter also distinctly recognised the ethnic identity of those who distinguished themselves as a group based on their common ideas about their origins, their language, customs, etc. Furthermore, in the eighteenth century one may observe the counterpart of medieval “state nationality” (*államnemzetiség*, a term used by Jenő Szűcs) in two versions: mirroring the state’s division into *regnum* and dynasty. For one, there was a concept of community based on territory, the common land of the country, and is generally referred to as *Hungarus* patriotism. Based on this idea, everyone who was a subject of the Hungarian Kingdom (*regnum Hungariae*) counted as a *Hungarus*. Second, one may observe a kind of “dynastic identity” associated with the Habsburg Empire. These “identity units” were by no means irreconcilable, any given person could simultaneously be a member of several such communities. What is of primary importance with respect to the present subject matter is the thesis—fairly widespread in academic literature today—that the process that marked the gradual erosion of this balance started already in the eighteenth century. This later led to the mental expansion of a grand community conception that was fundamentally imagined on an ethnocultural/linguistic basis, even though it was also underpinned by historical and legal arguments. Obviously this does not imply that in the context of the late eighteenth century one could already speak of a national community defined on an ethnocultural/linguistic basis as the ultimate framework of loyalty. Nevertheless, the gradual erosion of *Hungarus* patriotism and the diffusion of the principle of a grand community imagined on an ethnocultural/linguistic basis can be observed during the eighteenth century, not only among Magyar intellectuals but also among the intelligentsia of the later national minorities. On the medieval versions of the concept of nation, see J. Szűcs, “‘Nemzetiség’ és ‘nemzeti öntudat’ a középkorban. Szempontok egy egységes fogalmi nyelv kialakításához” [“Nationality” and “national self-consciousness” in the Middle Ages. Aspects of the development of a unified conceptual language], in *Nemzet és történelem* (Budapest 1984), 189–279, 252. On the changes in the eighteenth century, see F. Bíró, *A legnagyobb pennaháború. Kazinczy Ferenc és a nyelvkérdés* [The grandest quill war. Ferenc Kazinczy and the language question] (Budapest 2010), 13–31. From the perspective of the formation of modern Hungarian national literature, see P. S. Varga, *A nemzeti költészet csarnokai. A nemzeti irodalom fogalmi rendszerei a 19. századi magyar irodalomtörténeti*

following I will analyse a pamphlet that explicitly addresses the significance of the national language. Through its analysis, I will attempt to show how the ethnolinguistically based concept of nation and other expressions of cultural nationalism appeared in the discursive arenas of the struggle for constructing dominant concepts of community.⁷

The Omnipotence of the Mother Tongue

István Vedres's *Patriotic Reflections on the Necessity of the Hungarian Language in the Hungarian Homeland* ranks as a relatively complex text among the pamphlets written from 1790–1792.⁸ It is among the few booklets that went through several unaltered editions. It was published for the first time in 1790, together with a work of István Gáti, as a submission in response to the second of three survey questions of the journal *Hadi 's más Nevezetes Történetek* (Military and Other Notable Stories) circulated in that year, which asked, “How is the Nation's genuine success enhanced by the improvement of the mother Language; and, in turn, how does its neglect in favour of a foreign tongue retard success?”⁹

gondolkodásban [The halls of national poetry. The conceptual systems of national literature in 19th-century Hungarian literary thought] (Budapest 2005).

- 7 On the Hungarian versions of the cultural nationalism that idealised the congruence of cultural and political boundaries, and which later sought to enforce this congruence, see A. Debreczeni, “Nemzet és identitás a 18. század második felében” [Nation and identity in the second half of the 18th century], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 105 (2001), 513–552, 547; J. Takáts, “Politikai beszédmódok a magyar 19. század elején” [Political languages at the beginning of the Hungarian 19th century], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 102 (1998), 668–686, 676. In a later work, which is a kind of review, Takáts employs a different terminology not only with regard to the nineteenth century, but also assesses that even in the context of the late eighteenth century, cultural nationalism is not a distinct political language. J. Takáts, *Modern magyar politikai eszmetörténet* [History of modern Hungarian political thought] (Budapest 2007), 14–21 and 62–74.
- 8 I. Vedres, *A' magyar nyelvnek A' magyar hazában való szükséges voltát tárgyozó hazafiai elmélkedés* [Patriotic reflections on the necessity of the Hungarian language in the Hungarian homeland] (Kassa 1807 [1790]). The 1807 publication of the 32-page pamphlet was the third edition. It was first published in 1790 and then again in 1806.
- 9 I. Gáti and I. Vedres, *A' magyar nyelvnek A' magyar hazában való szükséges voltát tárgyozó hazafiai elmélkedések* (Vienna 1790). On the journals three renowned questions about national language, see among others M. Szajbély, “*Idzadnak a' magyar tollak.*” *Irodalomszemlélet a magyar irodalmi felvilágosodás korában a 18. század közepétől Csokonai haláláig* [“The Hungarian quills are perspiring.” A literary perspective on the Hungarian literary Enlightenment from the mid-18th century until Csokonai's death] (Budapest 2001), 22–23.

Vedres was an engineer by profession and later established his reputation with his 1805 plans for a canal connecting the Tisza and Danube rivers. His discussion of issues involving the ‘national economy’ was in the coming decades occasionally complemented with texts on the subject of ‘national’ issues. His ennoblement occurred rather late, in 1822. As a ‘public intellectual’—as we would call him today—he does not rank among the major writers of his period, but, as it happens, this is precisely the quality that allows us to treat his texts as average in a certain sense.¹⁰

In his *Patriotic Reflections*, the mother tongue emerges as a panacea for any and all ills that have befallen the ‘Nation.’ A fairly heterogeneous and complex narrative field emerges from the interplay of the numerous themes, ideas and notions that Vedres touches upon; the rather divergent elements of this field are held together by the central concepts of mother tongue and national language.

It is important to stress that the text almost never explicitly reveals the kind of concept of nation upon which it rests. Still, there are instances when the specific meaning of the term towards which the author is inclined in a given context emerges from the terminology used. At a theoretical level and in a general sense we can observe that historically significant socio-political key concepts are characterised by a certain semantic complexity. These concepts often have community-forming power, and their impact in terms of intellectual history is due to this very characteristic, i.e. their semantic complexity.¹¹ A striking manifestation of this observation is the semantic openness that characterises the concept of ‘nation.’ This openness allows the concept to simultaneously encapsulate the semantics of the corporate identity construction of the estates and that of the ethnocultural/linguistic identity framework.¹² In other words, the use of such potential multiple meanings gives rise to the possibility that

10 G. Ballagi, *A politikai irodalom Magyarországon 1825-ig* [Political literature in Hungary until 1825] (Budapest 1888), 576; J. Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [The life and works of Hungarian writers], vol. 14 (Budapest 1914); *Új Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* [New Hungarian literary lexicon], ed. by L. Péter (Budapest 1994), 2232–2233.

11 R. Koselleck, *Futures Past. On the Semantics of Historical Time* (New York 2004), 85–86, Ger. orig.: *Vergangene Zukunft. Zur Semantik geschichtlicher Zeiten* (Frankfurt 1995), 119–120.

12 B. Trencsényi, *A nép lelke. Nemzetkarakterológiai viták Kelet-Európában* [The spirit of the folk. National characterological debates in Eastern Europe] (Budapest 2011), 299–300. On the historical dimension of the conceptual connections encoded in the concept, see Szűcs, “‘Nemzetiség’ és ‘nemzeti öntudat’ a középkorban,” 252, where Szűcs distinguishes between three components of meaning in the context of the Middle Ages, while he also notes the relationship and “internal development” of these, which continued to apply all the way to the nineteenth century.

the text simultaneously speaks the language of ‘cultural nationalism’ and that of the ‘political nation,’ that is, the legal, political and historical language of the estates.¹³

In terms of its structure, the text is cyclically arranged. The fundamental power of the mother tongue in forging a community appears at various points throughout the text in changing but nevertheless discernible forms, interwoven with various themes and strains of thought. In this sense, the text is thus simultaneously characterised by a redundancy of sorts and a certain density and diversity in the reasoning employed. In line with the thesis proposed by the title, the author emphasises the social, cultural and public (and occasionally political) benefits of using the Hungarian language and its importance in terms of the ‘nation’s’ survival.¹⁴ This relatively simple message is supported by a thematically extremely far-flung ideological/intellectual apparatus.

The ideas that underpin the importance of the mother tongue—dispersed as they are in the text—can be divided into different groups, and they exert their impact at various levels throughout the entire text. My primary objective in this analysis is to determine how they relate to the key term of the text, i.e. the ‘mother tongue,’ which influences the text throughout. In other words, how the interplay of these ideas creates the narrative space wherein the significance of the mother tongue for the survival of the national community is manifested as an indisputable fact embedded in political languages and narratives of collective identity that, incidentally, do not traditionally or typically include the topic of mother tongue as an integral element. Thanks to this approach, it may be possible to steer the analysis in a contextualist direction.¹⁵

13 I find it important to stress that the question regarding the author’s intentionality is not necessarily relevant when it comes to a variety of parallel meanings ascribed to the same concept within a text. On the “surplus of meaning,” which Quentin Skinner (following Ricoeur) views as a basic characteristic of “[a]ll texts that are to some degree complex,” see Q. Skinner, *Dell’interpretazione* (Milan 2001), 134, cited in S. Bene, “A politika műfajai” [The genres of politics], in *Az Eötvös Collegium és a magyar irodalomtörténet. Tanulmányok*, ed. by László Varga (Budapest 2003), 98. In the analysis I intentionally adopt the ambiguous, “tentative” meanings used in the pamphlet. In exceptional cases I mark distinctly where I have removed ambiguity and rendered a concept unequivocal.

14 On the theme of the nation’s envisioned dying out in the Hungarian literature of the period, see F. Bíró, *A nemzethalál árnya a 18. századvég és a 19. századelő magyar irodalmában* [The spectre of the nation’s death in late 18th-century and early 19th-century Hungarian literature] (Budapest 2012).

15 According to the (in some sense critical) definition of Mark Bevir, contextualists “see meanings as the product of the relevant linguistic contexts.” For them the “meaning of an utterance derives from things they describe variously as ‘epistemes’, ‘forms of discourse’

The entire text is grounded on an assertion concerning the meaning and goals of human existence. In essence, this posits that the *raison d'être* of human existence is to achieve 'glory' and to attain the two 'qualities' that the author refers to as 'perfection' and 'immortality.'¹⁶ These latter concepts are classified as falling under the main concept of 'glory.' Of the two, the first, 'perfection,' is an expectation that always pertains to the present, while the second refers to the future, meaning the judgment of posterity. The group of three concepts that thus emerges provides the motivational basis of the text. These goals are not merely supposed to involve the reader but are also meant to prompt him to take action. The conceptual arsenal that serves as the 'existential' underpinning of the work is complemented by two concepts that frequently recur in the text: 'happiness' and '(moderate) liberty.'¹⁷ Similarly to the previously mentioned three concepts, 'happiness' is one of the goals of human existence, while '(moderate) liberty' is an instrument for achieving it. Although it is not stressed that these concepts may be valid also at the level of the individual, the text may evidently be read as referring to that level as well. Thus, they may potentially apply to the fulfilment of human existence. At the same time, they are also objectives that individual nations ought to attain, that is, they are posited as final goals in the rivalry of nations.

The omnipotent phenomenon of mother tongue serves as the guarantee that the conglomerate constituted by these terms, which are universally valid and all important, nearly transcendent in fact, can also be asserted in the 'mundane' practical/pragmatic dimension. A very extensive compilation of historical examples is meant to substantiate this connection. The historical compilation deploys narratives based on examples drawn from antiquity and the history of 'modern' European nations, as well as Hungary's own 'national' history. Its function is to marshal various anecdotes and 'historical' examples to show that language and nothing but language is the sole redeeming instrument to unify wills and desires that would otherwise tend towards discord. This, in turn,

or 'paradigms'. They believe that the meanings available to authors depend on the ways of thinking, writing, or speaking that exist in the community." M. Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas* (Cambridge 2004), 34. In this chapter, I would like to analyse this particular text from an intellectual history perspective, which principally could be associated with the approach of "(linguistic) contextualism," but which also takes into consideration the individual's discursive-rhetorical potential to use these collective structures in creative forms. In doing so, I also take into account Mark Bevir's reflections on weak intentionalism. For weak intentionalism and the differences between intentionalism, contextualism, conventionalism and occasionalism, see Bevir, *The Logic of the History of Ideas*, 31–77.

16 Vedres, *A' magyar nyelvnek*, 4.

17 Cf. for example Vedres, *A' magyar nyelvnek*, 4–5.

might be an essential precondition for achieving ‘glory’ for the national community, be it in the present (‘perfection’) or in the future (‘immortality’).

This collection of historical examples, which recurs in various places throughout the text and is meant to buttress the arguments in favour of the mother tongue on a historical basis, can be associated with the master narrative of the progress of European refinement, i.e. civilisation. It recounts the history of mankind’s cultural refinement by associating its stages with the respective golden ages of individual ‘empires’ or ‘nations’: most frequently the Greek, Roman, English, French and German ones. Human communication generally plays a pre-eminent role in the language of refinement, and hence it is readily available for use in substantiating the importance of the mother tongue. According to the pamphlet’s variant of the metahistory of refinement, the European ‘nations’ progressed to ever higher levels of civilisation since antiquity—and correspondingly to the attainment of the concomitant ‘glory’—by favouring the mother tongue and ensuring its uniform use.¹⁸

18 The text uses the structural frame of historical examples—a constituent element of the language of refinement—in a manner that almost wholly deprives it of its customary content, comprehensively rewriting it and filling with a new meaning. The standard narrative of refinement, which can be characterised as future-oriented and evolutionary, is reshaped in the pamphlet in a rather organicist manner. Vedres does not argue that the increasing frequency of communication generally makes people who live no longer dispersed but in towns, in close proximity to one another, more compatible with one another through the process of mutual refinement. According to the account in the text, the common and uniform use of the mother tongue serves as the guarantee of returning to the true “nature of the nation.” Furthermore, the salutary character of this development does not primarily derive from the fact that as customs become more refined, the community advances to a more developed stage, but rather from the assumption that a community which uniformly speaks the mother tongue automatically reverts back to its original nature. This gives rise to the condition wherein divergent wills, desires and actions may be endowed with a common direction and become unified. And that is exactly what might serve as the guarantee of success in the rivalry of nations. *Ibid.*, 3–7, 10–13. For a general discussion of the language of refinement in Hungarian, i.e. *csinosodás*, see Takáts, *Modern magyar politikai eszmetörténet*, 19–21. As for the basic literature of the language of politeness, see for example R. Porter, “The Enlightenment in England,” in *The Enlightenment in National Context*, ed. by M. Teich and R. Porter (Cambridge 1981), 1–18; N. Phillipson, “The Scottish Enlightenment,” in *ibid.*, 19–40; J. G. A. Pocock, *Virtue, Commerce and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge 1985); L. Kontler, *Az állam rejtelmei. Brit konzervativizmus és a politika kora újkori nyelvei* [Mysteries of the state. British conservatism and the political languages of the early modern era] (Budapest 1997), 188–208. From the perspective of the early eighteenth-century discourse on luxury: I. Hont, “The Early Enlightenment Debate

Mother Tongue and the ‘Nature of Nations’

The most fundamental idea concerning language is the claim that it determines the character of the nation (or, using the terminology of the pamphlet, its ‘nature’) and, correspondingly, also the identity of the national community:

One of the most worthy of Hungarian Patriots says: “Each Nation has its own particular Genius and Nature, which it loses when it changes its Mother Tongue; it becomes as if the Walnut Tree were merged with a Plum Tree.”¹⁹ [...] The Hungarian would have remained Hungarian even if it had remained stuck in the Catalaunian Plains, and neither would the French have become Hungarian if they had moved to Pannonia from their own country. In other words a Hungarian does not become Hungarian by virtue of his homeland or by inhabiting certain lands—he is made Hungarian by his Language and Nature.²⁰

Vedres always considers the mixing of languages as something negative; another example is taken from antiquity:

From the menace of the Greek and Roman empires there did not arise the wholesale destruction of the native Inhabitants, which would have turned their famous Provinces into the homelands of new Nations. Instead, their natural character became impaired through the degeneration of their languages that resulted from the intermixing with the Victor Nations, with the result that the National differences disappeared

on Commerce and Luxury,” in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth Century Political Thought*, ed. by M. Goldie and R. Wokler (Cambridge 2008), 384–385, 398–399.

19 Vedres cites József Péczeli here, who—as the editor of the journal *Mindenes Gyűjtemény* published between 1789 and 1792—argued in numerous writings vehemently and with great effect for the importance of the Hungarian language. The quote is from a collection of didactic fables, which are sprinkled with “lessons” and are written in rhymes. J. Péczeli, *Haszonnal mulattató mesék, mellyeket rész-szerint E’sópusból vett rész-szerint maga tsinált, ’s... versekbe foglalt Péczeli Jó’sef* [Didactic entertaining tales, which are partly taken from Aesop, partly written by the author... and rendered into verse by himself] (Győr 1788), 93.

20 Vedres, *A’ magyar nyelvnek*, 13. The mention of Catalaunum refers implicitly to the narrative of the Hun-Hungarian genealogical continuity, which was an integral part of the nobility’s collective identity construct.

completely due to linguistic Intermixing. That is how they turned into something they had not been before!²¹

By determining the ‘nature’ of the community that speaks it, language unifies diverging wills, sentiments and acts, but it only does so if the community is not linguistically divided. Quite simply, in this respect ‘all of the World’s Provinces’ provide positive examples to follow: “let us look one by one at all the World’s Provinces and we shall see that those vast inequalities and inner wars that incessantly tear at the body of our Homeland are nowhere to be found in them.”²²

As a result of the highest conceivable degree of generalisation, these ‘Others,’ idealised as the embodiment of unity, can be portrayed in a characteristic form in the ‘tableau of nations,’ i.e. the aforementioned collection of historical examples which is invoked in the text over and over again, contrasted with the negative example, namely ‘Us,’ the exception suffering from the eternal curse of discord. The distance between the two extremes could not be any greater.

The Source of All Ills: Latin

One of the underlying reasons mentioned in the text that explains the discord observed by the author is the inner division that stems from the parallel use of two different languages, Latin and Hungarian, which results in the “disintegration of the Hungarian nature.”

This is the reason for our current state of affairs, too. [...] Many in the former generations fell so much in love with the Latin Language (which had been brought into our Country with such violence that the Hungarian Patriots had supported it only on account of their love for our first King, the blessed Saint Stephen) that—nigh forgetting their very own mother tongue—they wholly devoted themselves to the practice of this strange guest Language. Still others vested themselves with such prestige on account of their understanding of this language that it made them look down on other worthy sons of our Nation. Two distinct wills emerged therefore and because of these two languages a lasting division came to take root in people’s hearts. This has often subjected our sweet Hungarian Homeland to such adversities from which only the God of Hungarians

21 Ibid., 15.

22 Ibid., 20.

can free us. Is this what we had to embrace the Latin Language for? It disintegrates the Hungarian Nature and creates an incessant state of civil war in our Country.²³

It needs to be emphasised that the pamphlet, except for a few places, does not explicitly condemn Joseph II's language decree of 1784, which introduced another foreign language, German, as the official language of the country.²⁴ Interestingly, such statements tend to appear in places where the text specifically appeals to the wounded pride of the nobility.²⁵ We may recall that the estates' criticism of the decree, which replaced Latin as the official language with German, stemmed not only from practical considerations. Instead, it was also interpreted as an effort to "replace the institutions of their ancestors" and as the "loss of the (noble) nation's centuries of glory." This shows that more was at stake than a mere violation of interests; the language decree was in fact an emotional issue that also implicated the nobility's sense of collective identity.²⁶ Nevertheless, even though the language decree was subject to immense public outrage and resistance at the time (especially in the counties, the administrative territorial units of the period, which also can be seen as

23 Ibid., 18–19.

24 The decree required the mandatory replacement of Latin by German in all official business at the level of state administrative offices, as well as county and city authorities. Among other measures it also made enrolment in secondary education contingent upon knowledge of German. For more details on the language decree, see D. Kosáry, *Művelődés a XVIII. századi Magyarországon* [Culture in 18th-century Hungary] (Budapest 1980), 432–441; I. Soós, "II. József német nyelvrendelete és a 'hivatalos' Magyarország" [The German language decrees of Joseph II and the "official" Hungary], in *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelvügyének 18. századi történetéből*, ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 2005), 261–301.

25 Indirect references to the language decree are more typical of the text. In one such passage, the Massilians, "who had been admitted as serfs but nevertheless aspired to rule," are mentioned in the context of the recent "imperilment [...] of our Sweet Mother Tongue." Characteristically, it is not Latin that the author fears for in this instance but obviously the "mother tongue." Vedres, *A magyar nyelvnek*, 29. Considering the proviso of "recent years," the mention of those admitted as serfs may also be interpreted as a (quite xenophobic) reference to the grand scale state-organised settlements that took place during the reign of Joseph II. German settlers arrived in the Bácska and Banat regions especially in the time between 1783 and 1786. On these settlements, see I. Wellmann, "Magyarország népességének fejlődése a 18. században" [The development of the Hungarian population in the 18th century], in *Magyarország története 1686–1790*, ed. by Gy. Ember and G. Heckenast (Budapest 1989), 56–59.

26 Soós, "II. József német nyelvrendelete," 289.

“the strongholds of the opposition” to the royal executive),²⁷ once Joseph II’s decrees were withdrawn in early 1790, the greatest threat in the eyes of those who argued in favour of using and developing the Hungarian language was no longer German but Latin, which played a significant role in the identity discourses of the estates. Correspondingly, when the diet convened in Buda in June 1790, the objective was to recognise the need for spreading Hungarian instead of reintroducing Latin.²⁸

Another passage close to the earlier one discusses the theme of ‘national degradation,’ not in light of the preceding decade, but rather in the context of the “most recent fifty years.” That is how Vedres manages to sever the narrative of ‘the annihilation of the nation’—a commonplace in the discourse of the 1780s—from one of its customary explanations (the introduction of German), and instead links it to the expansion of Latin: “Latin has never been as popular in our Country as in the most recent fifty Years. Neither has our sweet Homeland’s dreadful decay surreptitiously approached as much as it did during this time.”²⁹

27 R. J. W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Essays on Central Europe, c. 1683–1867* (Oxford 2006), 182.

28 On the language debates in the diet, see H. Marczali, *Az 1790–91-diki országgyűlés* [The diet of 1790–91], vol. 1 (Budapest 1907), 341–393. The language issue was finally addressed by Act 1791:16. Although the fact that a law was enacted on the language issue is of great significance, its specific “achievements” were rather modest in scope. For one, the ruler assured the estates that he would not use any foreign language (read German) in the administration of the Hungarian Kingdom’s affairs. Second, the law also provided that in institutions of secondary and higher education (grammar schools, the so-called academies and the university in Pest) teachers of Hungarian language and writing would have to be employed. (This did not imply that the subject itself became mandatory, however. Hungarian was only introduced as a “standard subject” in a law enacted by the diet of 1792—Act 1792:7.) The law expressly provides that affairs on the level of central administration would *for now* continue to be discussed in Latin. Though the word choice reflected some degree of stability in Latin’s position as an official language, it also held out the prospect of upsetting this stability in the future. (This latter process unfolded very slowly, however, and those arguing in favour of using the “national language” had to wait over half a century until Hungarian genuinely attained its status as the official state language; Act 1844:2.) On the other hand, some degree of appreciation in the status of Hungarian is already evident by the fact that in 1790–1791 the minutes of the lower house were kept in Hungarian alongside the Latin version for the first time, and were published in both languages, too. On the genesis of the act of 1791, see Gy. Szekfű, *Iratok a magyar államnyelv kérdésének történetéhez 1790–1848* [Documents on the history of the status of Hungarian as official language, 1790–1848] (Budapest 1927), 32–61 and 211–229.

29 Vedres, *A’ magyar nyelvnek*, 17.

The Pernicious Impact of Foreigners

Latin's toxic effect does not only stem from the decay of Hungarian nature, however, but also through the 'infiltration of foreigners':

Latin was the only way whereby the foreigners were able to infiltrate us, and which enabled them to attain official positions in our Country. It is well known that whichever empire provides ready access to its secrets to all types of foreigners is doomed to misfortune. [...] Thus far we Hungarians have constantly complained that foreigners are placed in our public offices, whilst we have failed to foreclose those avenues that bar the path of the true and pure Hungarians towards such offices, even as they pave the way for those who are torn in their identity and foreigners.³⁰

Here and elsewhere in the text the word 'foreigner' appears obviously in connection with the problem of 'holding office.' The central administrative bodies' practice of passing Hungarians by when appointing officials was a longstanding grievance of the Hungarian nobility, and at a very specific level we may interpret the relevant sections of the text as a contemporary reformulation of this complaint.³¹ Yet in addition to the main narrative castigating the corrupting influence of the infiltration of foreigners into public offices, another minute detail is apparent here. On account of its particular character as compared to the main line of thought, and the irreflective, instinctive nature of the author's choice of words, it attracts our attention. What I refer to is the division of 'Hungarians' into two groups, that is, those who are 'true and pure' and those who are 'torn in their identity.' This can also be construed as the application of the previously cited line of thought on the 'decay of the Hungarian nature.' If we were to take the previously discussed assertions of the earlier passages seriously, then it would appear that the basis underlying the concepts used here is an idea which essentially posits that those who favour Latin are automatically assigned to the second group on account of the deterioration in their 'true Hungarian nature,' while those who prefer the Hungarian language are seen as part of the first.

The conceptual distinction that serves to differentiate between the two groups of Hungarians comes within the discussion on the pernicious impact of foreigners in a place that makes clear that the arguments about the 'infiltration of foreigners' and the 'decay of the Hungarian nature' cannot really

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25–27.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 25–28.

be separated from one another. The underlying theme of both narratives—which are never explicitly brought together in the text—is the parallel use of Latin and Hungarian and the problem of the resultant discord. The association of Latin with the idea of the dark clouds of superstition and ignorance³² is apparent in several instances throughout the pamphlet, and one version of this theme manifests itself in the present context as well. The Hungarians (‘our compatriots’) were namely not well versed in foreign languages, and having neglected their own mother tongue, they had no access to the prevailing knowledge of their age, with the result that they found themselves excluded from those public offices, the high-level performance of which would have necessitated these skills. Thus their places were taken by ‘foreigners’ instead.³³

It is at the same time remarkable, however, that those who are designated as bearing responsibility for the pernicious practice—as a result of which “this Hungarian Homeland has mostly had to coexist with foreigners in all public offices”—are not the authors’ contemporaries. On the contrary, they are absolved from responsibility, so to speak, since it was the love of their ancestors for Latin that has led to their descendants “appearing as if they were foreigners in their own sweet Homeland.”³⁴

For we know all too well that our Ancestors, loving the Latin language so much, impeded the general spread of Sciences and Trades. If their Descendants appear now to be living in foreign provinces whilst in reality they inhabit their own sweet Homeland, it is their fault! [...] Our Compatriots were unable to learn the liberal Arts, Sciences and Trades because of their lack of knowledge of foreign Languages, and because they did not want to do so in their own mother tongue. So they willingly let foreign Nations [...] surpass them, and have thereby allowed them to exercise these public offices. Thence [...] all offices and matters, that are the Hungarian Crown’s and Chamber’s to bestow, have become filled by foreigners, whilst Hungarians could never here succeed in such great numbers in filling these offices.³⁵

32 “The French, English, Italian and German Countries have provided us with a wonderful example [...] in their striving [...] to disperse the gloomy clouds of ignorance and foolishness hanging over their Nations as a result of the Latin Language.” *Ibid.*, 4.

33 *Ibid.*, 28.

34 *Ibid.*, 27–28.

35 *Ibid.*, 27–28.

Having pilloried the conditions prevailing in his age on several occasions, and after unequivocally pointing to the use of Latin as the chief cause of decline, the author proceeds to absolve the nobility of his age from responsibility in what appears to be a grandiose gesture. This is the very nobility, incidentally, whose indifference to the mother tongue he had alluded to implicitly.³⁶ Such a rhetorical manoeuvre would be worthy of our attention even in the absence of other indications that the author intended the nobility to be his pamphlet's target audience. In the following, I would like to present a few examples that demonstrate how characteristically the text seeks to exploit the nobility's sensibilities (and for the purposes of textual analysis, it is not necessarily relevant how far these are real or presumed sensibilities).

Narrative Strategy: Political Languages Rewritten

Vedres's narrative strategy manifests itself in passages that invoke the thought processes, value attributions and *topoi* from the local variant of republicanism (as spoken by the Hungarian nobility), the identity discourses of the nobility (based upon a construction of the normative past) and the political language of the ancient constitution. At the same time, these are presented in a new interpretation as compared to their customary versions. They are rewritten in a way that—at the level of textual reality—allows them to appear as compatible as possible with the text's fundamental message, namely the claim concerning the mother tongue's significance from the 'national' perspective.³⁷

36 "It is no wonder then, that we have awoken so late, and that we can finally free ourselves after so much effort from the yoke that enchains our National Nature and which has compelled us to learn Latin and to conduct our National affairs in that language, *whilst we have been forced to relegate the use of our own mother tongue to those who work with hoe and scythe.*" *Ibid.*, 3 (my emphasis, H. H.).

37 On the political language of republicanism generally, see for example M. van Gelderen and Q. Skinner, eds., *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, vols. 1–2 (Cambridge 2002); Q. Skinner, "Machiavelli's *Discorsi* and the Pre-Humanist Origins of Republican Ideas," in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, ed. by G. Bock et al. (Cambridge 1990), 121–141; Q. Skinner, "A szabadság és a honpolgárság két rivális hagyománya" [Two rival traditions of freedom and citizenship], *Világosság* 36 (1995), 21–33; J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton 1975). On the identity discourses of the nobility in the early modern period in East Central Europe, see B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky, eds., *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe* (Leiden 2010), 61–65, 285–496. On the ancient constitution, see J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient*

The most characteristic passage in terms of invoking the language of the ancient constitution may be the one in which the author argues that changing the ‘National Language’ will invariably result in a change of the ‘Laws’:

There is one Montesquieu, who enjoys some renown in our Homeland as well, who says, “that even a change in music may alter the frame of government of the country.” So how could we imagine that a change in the National Language would not effect a change in the frame of government? If such a change were to give rise (as it indeed does) to new customs, morals and ways of thinking, then it would alter the Nature of the Nation as well, and would thereby result in changing the *Laws*, too. What would have become of the *Noble Hungarian Nation* had the German language continued to prevail in our Country? Indeed, just a little while later we would have come to regard the *Golden Letter of Liberty* by *Andrew II, our Glorious King* as nothing but a dream that had enraptured Hungarians of yore! But if we were to cast the Latin language aside, and install our sweet Mother Tongue in its natural place, then we shall approach the *natural but noble characteristics of the Noble Hungarian Nation*, which had prevailed before the dropping of our Pagan Religion made the Latin Language necessary (though only for a while) in our Sweet Homeland.³⁸

Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge 1987); J. G. A. Pocock, “Burke and the Ancient Constitution: A Problem in the History of Ideas,” *The Historical Journal* 3 (1960), 125–143. On the local versions of these political languages, primarily in the Hungarian context, the works of József Takáts and Attila Debreczeni need to be highlighted: Debreczeni, *Nemzet és identitás*, 533–536; Takáts, *Politikai beszédmódok*, 668–675; Takáts, *Modern magyar politikai eszmetörténet*, 14–17. While Takáts treats ancient constitutionalism and republicanism as distinct political languages, Debreczeni practically combines these two political languages into one. This study employs the former approach, but it does seek to keep in mind that those two political languages are, indeed, connected at many levels.

- 38 Vedres, *A’ magyar nyelvnek*, 15–16 (my emphasis, H. H.). This is one of the rather rare instances that refers to the language decree of 1784. It would obviously be absurd to refer to Latin as a source of ills in the context of the 1222 Golden Bull—it was written in Latin—which is why Vedres brings up here first German as the foreign language which has to be opposed. Nevertheless, Latin continues to be the principal enemy in the struggle for the mother tongue, and that is also apparent in the last sentence of the passage cited. This shift from German to Latin in the position of the language threatening the “Noble Hungarian Nation” points out on one hand the importance of the historical context and that of the discursive structures reflecting on it (i.e. the language decree of Joseph II and the discourse thematising it), and the author’s intention to interpret these according to his own interests (i.e. to propagate Hungarian) on the other.

Several signs indicate that the text specifically addresses the nobility here. The reference to Montesquieu would in and of itself be sufficient to evoke such an impression, but so does the use of the qualifier ‘Noble’ that twice precedes the syntagm of Hungarian Nation, as does the mention of “natural but noble characteristics.”³⁹ Finally, the Golden Bull of 1222, which enshrined the nobility’s rights and liberties, renders the construction of the passage unequivocal. The desire for ‘Laws’ to be permanent invokes a traditional idea of order that manifested itself in the ideal framework of the ancient constitution. This does not refer to a collection of texts per se, but rather to a common law tradition, “that served as the fundamental and unalterable framework for the actions of the main political players (the *populus* represented in the diet, that is the estates and the king).”⁴⁰

Another remarkable moment in the text is when the elements of the nobility’s collective and constructed self-image—or rather their updated versions—appear intertwined with the claim that the mother tongue defines the national character, forming a joint narrative. Vedres proffers the idea of a golden age of sorts in emphasising the period in the nobility’s fictitious myth of origins (the ‘barbarian’ era before Hungary adopted Christianity and before the state was founded) and by seeking to portray it as a kind of ‘original’ and ‘natural’ state of affairs that was later spoilt by the introduction of Latin. In other words he introduces the mother tongue—seen here as a safeguard of the previously prevailing ‘organic’ state—as the nobility’s ‘original’ and ‘natural’ language, which is contrasted with the subsequent and ‘decadent’ Latin. Besides this passage there are several others in the pamphlet that borrow themes from the nobility’s fictitious myth of origin as canonised by Kézai, which the author places in a context where the mother tongue plays the central role.

39 The nobility interpreted Montesquieu’s constitutional ideas as a text that lent itself as a basis to underpin the legitimacy of its own privileges. L. Péter, “Montesquieu’s Paradox on Freedom and Hungary’s Constitutions, 1790–1990,” *History of Political Thought* 16 (1995), 77–104. I ought to point out also that the joint use of the three terms that constitute the syntagm of “Noble Hungarian Nation” can be regarded not at all self-evident in the text, even though it was a customary and standard phrase at the time. The addition of the qualifier “noble” preceding the “Hungarian nation”—a word choice that is very much dependent on the given context—is part of a trend that manifests itself at several points in the text. This in itself is evidence of the dual meaning used by the author (noble nation vs. language-based concept of nation). See for example Vedres, *A’ magyar nyelvnek*, 20, where he uses the term “Hungarian nation” (an ethnocultural, language-based concept of nation); and *ibid.*, 23, where he refers to the “noble Hungarian nation” because he appeals to the “valiant” and “glorious” elements of the nobility’s self-perception.

40 Takáts, *Modern magyar politikai eszmetörténet*, 16.

As the historiographer of Ladislaus IV in the ninth decade of the thirteenth century, Simon Kézai laid the theoretical foundations for the construction of the nobility's privileged sense of community, the central notion of which suggests that one portion of Hungarians (along with their descendants) took part courageously in the historical struggles of the Huns and Hungarians, and accordingly rose to the top, while another segment (and their descendants) avoided meeting their knightly obligations, and ended up debased in the process. In the 1280s this line of reasoning sought to explain the social differences in a country that had by then been a Christian kingdom for almost 300 years. It simultaneously intended to canonise the Hun-Hungarian kinship and to buttress the nobility's privileges with historical arguments. In early modern Hungary, the underlying ideological construct still represented an integral part of the nobility's sense of identity.⁴¹

With regard to Vedres's passages that interlace the category of mother tongue with this narrative, we discern the use of a technique that we might refer to as an operation aimed at providing one's 'own' history, which was constructed from one's 'own' past,⁴² with a 'doubly national' underpinning. What this really means is that the text simultaneously operates with two concepts of 'nation.' The nobility has appropriated one of these for itself, relying on the founding myth canonised by Kézai. The other emphasises language as the basis of the national community. Obviously, Vedres has the ultimate goal of subordinating the former to the latter.

In this narrative, the pre-Saint Stephen (pagan) period is portrayed as some kind of a golden age, as a truly 'national' era, when the unifying power of the common language served as the main guarantor of 'national' glory. This invokes important moments of the glorious past, such as the victory of the Huns over the Roman Empire, the 'blood oath' of the Hungarian chieftains who elected a national leader and the repeated invasions of Europe in the period following the Magyar conquest and settlement of the Carpathian Basin.⁴³ The era beginning with the adoption of Christianity—a period that

41 On Kézai's myth of origin, see J. Szűcs, "Társadalomelmélet, politikai teória és történet-szemlélet Kézai *Gesta Hungarorum*ában (A nacionalizmus középkori genezisének elméleti alapjai)" [Social theory, political theory and history perspectives in Kézai's *Gesta Hungarorum* (The theoretical foundations of the medieval genesis of nationalism)], in *Nemzet és történelem*, 413–555.

42 On the oppositional character of self-definitions, see for example Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 155–191.

43 It is worthwhile to compare the narratives that recount the early medieval attacks of Western Europe as glorious history—which (it would appear) were still integral elements of the nobility's self-perception—with the images that present the same story on

included the author's own epoch—is depicted in contrast as a time of discord and decay, lacking in 'national' character, a state of affairs that necessarily results from the parallel use of two languages. In the author's contemporary context all this manifests itself as a central problem, a question of life and death: Will it be possible to resurrect the 'nation's' particular character, which survives as no more than a mere glimmer, through the introduction of the mother tongue (in other words: "can we return to our true nature?"), or will it be the other way round, when the negative scenario prevails, leading to degeneration and loss of identity, thus relegating the community of 'Us' addressed by the pamphlet to the dustbin of history? This community of 'Us' in the passage is not so much a mystical but rather an elusive collective. It is purported by the text—naturally with vague contours—already at a grammatical level through the persistent use of the first person plural.⁴⁴

This is Our Sweet Hungarian Language, which connects the Great Ones of our Homeland in their Hearts, filling them with equal inclinations, desires and uniform natural traits that make them value the promotion of the interests of the Hungarian Homeland and Nation—and no less its glory and happiness—more than life itself. Then we will overcome all those adversities that we have experienced under three successive Royal Houses,⁴⁵ and the times will return when [...] that famous Rome was

the walls of the Pantheon in Paris and portray these events as barbarian invasions. The noteworthiness of this comparison does not only stem from the irreconcilability of the (understandably) different narrative perspective on the same events, but also from the "cultural chasm" that these two clashing interpretations imply.

44 What we see here is undoubtedly an early example of the dream metaphor of national awakenings, which is so frequently mentioned in the theory of nationalism. Cf. for example E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 47–48. In this metaphor, the nation in its own particular quality has existed since ancient times, it has merely "fallen into a slumber" at one point. The early nationalists considered that they were reawakening this sleeping giant, a notion that they felt provided a historical justification for their activities. Similar to the dream metaphor that is employed at the temporal level, in the text one also finds the image of the "mother tongue as a treasure lying in the dust": the mother tongue has been lying in the dust until now, so it is time to follow the example of other refined nations and "put it back in its natural place." The emphasis is on the qualifier "natural," which inherently suggests a return to some kind of "organic" state, and at the same time, by means of the historical narrative that portrays the period preceding the foundation of the state as a golden age, "natural" overlaps with both "ancient" and "primordial." See for example Vedres, *A' magyar nyelvnek*, 30.

45 The remark refers to the traditional division of Hungarian history into three epochs on the basis of the sequence of ruling dynasties in the Kingdom of Hungary: the Árpáds (until

Servant of our glorious Nation;⁴⁶ [...] when in evidence of their Concert, their love of Homeland and Nation and their loyalty to the main leader, our immortal Ancestors spilt their own Blood onto one another and were not loath to drink from one another's blood [as part of a 'blood oath']. The times will return when the Hungarian Name wrought terror all over Europe.⁴⁷

Later in the passage it also emerges that these martial virtues will appear in increasingly refined and civilised forms: "But nevertheless they will return in such a manner that wildness will become gentleness; that persecution will turn into the love of the fellow man; that simple-mindedness will give way to perfection; and that the fear that has once made the whole of Europe tremble shall be replaced by marvel and admiration for the Noble Hungarian Nation." The passage includes a historical narrative of an increasingly refined, 'more polite' humanity rising from a state of wildness, which is one of the favoured themes of the idiom of refinement/politeness. As we have previously mentioned, the notions that are characteristic of the language of refinement are also manifest elsewhere in the text. Indeed, in a certain sense they can be regarded as the 'empirical' foundation of the argumentation in favour of the mother tongue.⁴⁸

Finally, the text also brings into play one of the keywords of the republican vocabulary that was organically intertwined with the mythologies underlying

1301), the Habsburgs (from 1526) and the period between them under various dynasties in power.

46 This representation of Rome as the servant of the "Glorious (Hungarian) Nation" refers to the victories of the Huns over Rome and is based upon the fictitious notion of continuity between the ancient Huns of Attila and the Hungarian noble nation. For this see also fn. 20 and 43.

47 Vedres, *A' magyar nyelvnek*, 23. Or, to cite another characteristic example: "Whilst our Ancestors were ruled by Captains and Chieftains, they—having all been born Hungarian—spoke their Mother Tongue, their Hearts and Souls were one and their Empire did not suffer from even the slightest disturbance. With the adoption of the Christian Religion under Saint Stephen, and the introduction of the Latin Language, this peacefulness in our Country was replaced by rebellions and upheavals [...] the dominant Latin language persisted and sowed discord between a Hungarian Nation united by blood but divided in itself by two languages." *Ibid.*, 19–20.

48 *Ibid.*, 3–7, 10–13. Incidentally, József Takáts refers to the language of refinement as the political language that stands counter to that of republicanism. Though the observation may be plausible in theory, these two political languages work nevertheless perfectly well alongside one another in this text, which is another example of the textual reconcilability of seemingly irreconcilable ideas. Takáts, *Modern magyar politikai eszmetörténet*, 19.

the nobility's collective identity, namely the concept of liberty together with the usual republican debate on the reasons for the fall of empires. Vedres presents the establishment of imperial rule in the Roman Republic as the genesis of the Roman Empire's fall.⁴⁹ At the same time, 'liberty' operates in the text as a key concept of the nobility's constructed scheme of self-perception, as a catchword meant to elicit the nobility's interest (cf. 'golden liberties'). The author claims that there is a relationship between the language used by a community and the political order that prevails in it,⁵⁰ and then goes on to point out how the German language is similar to Greek, while Hungarian is similar to Latin. Finally, he proceeds to compare the Hungarian nobility's 'liberty' to that of the Roman citizens.

We read that the German Language is considerably more similar to Greek than to Latin; and indeed, what else should the German Country, divided into Districts, reflect but the division of Greece into Cities, each an Empire of its own. The National Hungarian Language for its part is rather more like Latin than Greek, or the Languages of other Nations. And there is indeed but little difference between a Noble Man living with Hungarian Liberties and the Roman Citizen of yore.⁵¹

The paradigmatic story of the fall of Rome, a recurring theme in the language of republicanism, is rewritten here to reflect the author's intention of placing the mother tongue front and centre. The emphasis is no longer on the reasons for the fall or on the factors underlying this fall in the original narrative (luxury, foreign customs and the decay of ancient morals), but on the temporal coincidence that the text posits between the fall and the decline of the mother tongue.

49 "Roman republican virtues provide a standing model that informs the language of republicanism; a central contention concerns the question of the greatness and fall of nations, and a paradigmatic example within that debate is the story of the fall of Rome. This narrative suggests that—just as Sallust and Livy wrote—the reasons underlying the fall of Rome were above all the new customs that emerged on account of the opulent way of life (with luxury), the degeneration of ancient morals, discord—the latter the Hungarian poet Berzsenyi and his contemporaries expressed with the term "visszavonás" ["retraction"]—and corruption, putting individual interests above the public interest. This is how the main concepts, patterns, debates and the "grand narrative" of the language of republicanism could be summarised in a nutshell." Takáts, *Politikai beszédmódok*, 669.

50 "Nor would it be unfounded to observe that the Nation's civil state [i.e. 'polity'] is also a reflection of the nature of its language." Vedres, *A' magyar nyelvnek*, 16.

51 Vedres, *Ibid.*, 16–17.

And Rome basked in the light of its Throne of Glory when its Mother Tongue achieved the highest level of perfection at the time of Tullius [...] But when the prominent Roman Citizen Caesar, who defeated even Rome itself, destroyed the Liberty of his own sweet Homeland and established himself as the lone power in the common Empire, when he enslaved a previously Free Rome, then the Golden Age of its language passed, too, and was finally trampled into the mud, where its earlier Glory and natural Dignity were ruined together with the Mother Tongue.⁵²

It is not only ancient history that provides the rhetorical opening for linking the issues of 'Liberty' and 'Language,' but so do events in the recent period before the pamphlet was written. How the relationship between the 'fall of the empire' and 'linguistic deterioration' moves from purely temporal coincidence to a causal link in this contemporising context is most readily apparent in the following section:

And here I shall say not so much as a word about our Sweet Nation, for even without words we know that once we began neglecting our Mother Tongue, which was languishing in the shadows of that foreign Latin Language, and moved to replace it with the neighbouring foreign Language [i.e. German]; at one point a lone [dictatorial] power was established [that of Joseph II], and dared to order the wholesale eradication of our Liberties together with our sweet Mother Tongue, and to relegate them to eternal nothingness.⁵³

“Our Sweet Homeland is Like a World Writ Small”

As we saw previously, the appearance of 'foreigner' in the text is mainly associated with the context of 'holding office.' In other words, the emphasis is on the term's 'political' rather than ethnic connotations. Yet if we read the relevant passages in the context of the entirety of the text, there also appears

52 Vedres, *Ibid.*, 10.

53 Vedres, *Ibid.*, 11. What may underlie this delay in asserting an underlying causal relationship is that the history of Roman literature is strikingly unsuitable for substantiating such a relationship: in the case of Latin it would have been patently absurd to claim in any explicit way that there was a linguistic degeneration during the first decades of imperial rule. That is why the vague formulation in the quote above may be more suitable, as it merely claims a temporal coincidence of sorts.

a common, obvious dimension of the word ‘foreigner.’⁵⁴ This invokes an easily adaptable general pattern of an ‘outsider’ with vague contours, who breaks into ‘our’ world from the outside and threatens its identity. This vagueness may then be endowed quite readily with specific contents in the process of reception. This rather pliable associative basis makes the concept of ‘foreigner’ suitable for evoking the vague notion of the ‘enemy,’ and even to incite atavistic fears if needed. In general, this technique of leaving some ill-defined concepts allows for open interpretations which may serve as one of the guarantees of rendering a text effective in the long run—or even immediately.

If one looks at the issue from this vantage point, then the ethnic dimension of the term ‘foreigner’ becomes more readily discernible even in those passages which focus on the problem of office holding. An ethnic dimension can of course be read into these sections also because Vedres obviously refers here to the officials appointed by the Habsburg ruler, including those who hold positions within the administration of duties, taxes and royal monopolies.⁵⁵ This notion is further reinforced in a passage that raises the question of offices not in the context of ‘domestic’ positions, but nevertheless from an ethnic perspective, which explicitly connects the two issues.

The Spaniards did not expel the Moors and the Jews for any other reason from their Homeland than to avert the looming threats that might have prevailed on account of involving various Nationalities with differing Nature and Morals in the Country’s Administration.⁵⁶

The next sentence sees the problem of foreigners even further removed from the subject of holding office and ‘administration,’ and Vedres simultaneously brings up the ethnic dimension at a ‘societal’ level.

They know all too well from numerous examples these words of Aristotle: Those who have accepted *serfs and immigrants* into their Cities (Countries) have mostly found themselves wrecked by internecine wars.⁵⁷

Though, as was previously pointed out, the text designates the adoption of Christianity as the historical cause for the use of two languages simultaneously

54 Primarily: Vedres, *A’ magyar nyelvnek*, 22–29.

55 *Ibid.*, 27–28.

56 *Ibid.*, 22.

57 *Ibid.*, 22 (my emphasis, H. H.). It is more than likely that Vedres refers here to a passage from Aristotle’s *Politics*, cf. 1303a.

(Latin/Hungarian)—which is the chief culprit behind the tendencies reviled by the author—occasionally this narrative is augmented by other factors. One such instance is the passage where the main reason for the discord is not language but the manifold ‘nationalities’ that have settled in the Carpathian Basin.

Our Sweet Homeland is like a World writ small and it is inhabited by all kinds of European nationalities (they have gathered here either to reap the profits of our fertile Lands or else to escape the dictatorial power of their lone Rulers and to exchange their slavery for sweet Hungarian Liberty). But that is exactly the reason why there is no other Country that has experienced such magnitude of changes over a thousand Years! It is as if [Hungary herself] had to suffer all the adversities suffered in the World!⁵⁸

At this point, Vedres employs the ancient theme of fertility and the *topos* of the Hungarian nobility’s freedom with the aim of addressing the problems of ‘discord’ and ‘adversity’ by treating multi-ethnicity—a characteristic feature of the Carpathian Basin—as a point of departure. It is impossible to overlook the motifs of an ethnically based self-definition interwoven in the text, the codes of identification and demarcation. The owner of ‘fertile lands’ is the same ‘we’ community that joins and connects the time of Magyar settlement in Hungary with the author’s own time; the expression ‘*our* fertile Lands’ implicitly asserts continuity between the two constructed, ill-defined and vaguely demarcated groups at a grammatical level. This seemingly instinctive word choice is suggestive: the ethnically-based and historicised group formation continues to be effective in the present.⁵⁹ At the same time, in the subsequent sentence the ethnic dimension is complemented by the language problem that constitutes the central issue of the text: “*having been born as Hungarians, our ancestors spoke in their Mother Tongue, their Hearts and Souls were one and their Empire did not suffer from even the slightest disturbance.*”⁶⁰

The guarantor of unity in that glorious past was monolingualism stemming from ethnic homogeneity and that the community used the mother tongue, i.e. Hungarian, which matched its ‘nature.’ The discord of the present, and the adversities stemming therefrom, are cast as a contrast to this more blissful state. The underlying cause of the present circumstances is on the one hand

58 Ibid., 19.

59 It is also worth noting that the passage presents the people moving to Hungary as mere beneficiaries, i.e. not as real owners.

60 Vedres, *A’ magyar nyelvnek*, 19 (my emphasis, H. H.).

the ethnic heterogeneity of the Carpathian Basin, but the very next sentence goes on to reaffirm, on the other hand, that the root causes were the adoption of Christianity and the concomitant spread of Latin: “With the adoption of the Christian Religion under Saint Stephen, and the introduction of the Latin Language, this peacefulness in our Country was replaced by rebellions and upheavals.”⁶¹ The two distinct strands of the narrative which seek to explain the current state of discord now become highly intertwined, with Vedres employing them both simultaneously. Yet he fails to reflect on their differences and neglects to discuss potential points of connection.⁶²

Finally, at the explicit level, the use of Latin as a ‘foreign’ language is once again the most important factor—similarly to most other passages—but in this particular context this claim appears in combination with a reference to ‘nationalities.’ The parallel use of two languages (Latin and Hungarian) and the presence of a multitude of nationalities jointly cause the prevailing discord. What is interesting at the same time is that the evident explanation for the unusual persistence—in European comparison—of the use of Latin, namely that it served as a *lingua franca* for the various nationalities inhabiting the Carpathian Basin, is not mentioned.⁶³

There are also several other instances in the pamphlet when the ethnic dimension is explicitly addressed. One of them occurs when the author presents the language policy in ancient Rome (the ‘ban’ on Greek and the ‘introduction’ of Latin) with obvious normative intentions, that is, citing it as an example to follow. The ethnicities inhabiting the Apennine Peninsula (“Italy’s various Nationalities”) gave up their respective languages and adopted the language of the ruling nation, i.e. Latin. Though it remains unclear whether the text implies that they had to abandon their own languages or merely Greek—or potentially both—what matters is the salutary outcome, namely that they all use the language of the ‘ruling nation.’ And all this may of course be construed as an implicit reference to the ‘nationalities’ of the Hungarian kingdom,

61 Ibid., 19.

62 The narrative employed in the text stands in striking contrast with the notion—also virulent at the time—associated with King Saint Stephen, which posits that letting foreigners into the country bolsters the state, as well as with the opinion that continued to perceive Latin as the language of erudition. In this sense the pamphlet may also be read as a polemic of sorts, with an objective to redefine the points of reference of collective identity through an alternative interpretation of the past.

63 R. J. W. Evans, “The Politics of Language and the Languages of Politics: Latin and the Vernaculars in Eighteenth-Century Hungary,” in *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Scott and B. Simms (Cambridge 2007), 202.

their languages and/or Latin, and to the ‘ruling nation’ (which, let there be no doubt, is Magyar according to the hierarchy established by the text).

And Rome basked in the light of its Throne of Glory when its Mother Tongue achieved the highest level of perfection at the time of Tullius. Its liberties, which had been sprouting for nigh seven centuries since the city was built at the time of Romulus, could only fully blossom when the various National Languages of Italy were replaced with the Language of the *Ruling Nation* and when Greek, which had until then served to demonstrate Eloquence and was the common Language of Rome’s Greatest Heroes and Scholars, was barred from the Country.⁶⁴

The text is even more explicit when Vedres presents the desire for extending the ‘splendour’ of the Hungarian language to the “Countries subject to the Holy Hungarian Crown” as an attitude typical of the true patriot. This slightly obscure but decidedly normatively based assertion in the text explicitly raises a ‘political’ dimension which is reminiscent of the language of nineteenth-century cultural nationalism.

Are there Hungarians who impede making our National Hungarian Language universal [in Hungary], and hold foreign Languages in higher regard instead, who come to hate and scorn the Language which they have been taught by nature and the Mother that raised them, and seek therefore to expel it from their Homeland? [...] Who would fail to lift up from the dust and with unified strength not refine such a treasure whose value as an example to other refined Nations is inestimable, and whose true quality lies in bringing happiness, glory and perfection, *nor place it onto the Holy Hungarian Crown (so that its light may shine on all thine Countries)?* Only [the person] who would wish to relegate Hungarians to ignorance [...] so that they can never liberate themselves from the yoke of simple-mindedness.⁶⁵

64 Vedres, *A’ magyar nyelvnek*, 10 (my emphasis, H. H.).

65 *Ibid.*, 30 (my emphasis, H. H.). To demonstrate the intellectual history context of the ethnic dimension that is manifested in the text, it is worth noting that in the tense atmosphere of the first half of the 1790s there were also examples of texts that displayed far cruder ethnic references than the cautious tone of Vedres’s writing. We may just quote the otherwise moderate Ferenc Kazinczy, who wrote so in the columns of the journal *Orpheus*, which he edited: “But if the Hungarian language were introduced, then that would erect a permanent wall between Magyars and non-Magyars, and the foreigners among us would

Cultural Nationalism?

If our aim was merely to reconstruct the author's intentions, then our discussion thus far might allow us to conclude that his primary objective in drafting this pamphlet was probably to win over the nobility—whose political weight was dominant in the diet—to the cause of the mother tongue. He sought to do so by using idioms readily recognizable by this group.⁶⁶ At the same time, it is important to emphasise that it is by no means certain that the author performed this undertaking with the level of deliberateness that the previous statement might suggest. It is quite conceivable that on the level of convention Vedres himself can be regarded as an authentic user of *all* the rhetorical-discursive elements employed in the text. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to

have to choose: either become Magyar or else starve [...] If the Hungarian language were introduced, we will survive. But if Latin is brought back, then sooner or later that deluge of foreigners shall suffocate us and our Nation will be but a degenerate turmoil." *Orpheus* (Mar. 1790), 154–155, 160–161. Relevant examples abound not only in journals but also in the pamphlets of the period. One of the most illustrative examples is found in József Kiss's writing entitled *A' Nemes Magyar Nemzethez rövid emlékeztető beszéd*: "It is amazing that the *Slovaks* and *Croatians* so vociferously oppose the establishment of Hungarian [as an official language], and they fail to consider that this is neither Slovakia ["Tót-ország"] nor Croatia, but *Hungary*. And Hungary derives its name from the Hungarian nation, whose living language is neither Slovakian nor Croatian, but Hungarian. All nations—if they have their very own country and Regent—would do well and even owe it to establish their own mother tongue, and to protect it, for otherwise they will surely find themselves oppressed and enslaved by the nation from which they borrow their language. [...] If someone wants to be among Hungarians or wishes to make a living among them, then he owes it to be Hungarian in all respects, so that all disloyalties be severed, and the necessary unity be restored in their stead." J. Kiss, *A' Nemes Magyar Nemzethez rövid emlékeztető beszéd, mellyben meg-mutattatik, hogy Magyar-országban lehet, 's kell is A' magyar nyelvet, és a magyar tanításokat fel-állítani, és hogy az universitasnak Pest a leg-jobb hely* [A short speech to the Noble Hungarian Nation, which demonstrates that supporting the Hungarian language and the Hungarian teachings is not only a possibility but a duty, and that the best place for the university is Pest] ([n.p.] 1790), 13. Another example, this time from a book by Zsigmond Oswald: "nothing would be more appropriate to expect than that he who loves Hungarian bread also appreciate our language and thereby our Nation, too! If foreigners are obliged to respect and abide by our laws as soon as they enter into our country, why then could we not compel the residents of our Home Country to learn the language of the lands whose fat sustains them?" Zs. Oswald, *Az igaz hazafi kinek tulajdonságát együgyü beszédbe foglalta egy hazája 's nemzete javát óhajtó szív* [The true patriot whose attributes were summarised in simple words by one true heart wishing the best for his country and nation] (Pest 1792), 24.

66 Vedres, *A' magyar nyelvnek*, 31.

ascertain how far he might have been aware that the various ideas he operated with might also be conceived of as contradictory entities at a certain level of thought that presumably differed from his own.

The author mentions the diet itself only at the very end of his text. Finally, he explicitly addresses a particular set of people, whereby he makes it obvious that he (also) sought to persuade a specific target group by writing his pamphlet. Typically, however, he still omits to stress unambiguously what he specifically expects the diet to do. The text remains generally wary of putting forward specific demands and goals.

As we have observed, the author's persuasive efforts aimed (unsurprisingly) at the nobility as the most significant portion of contemporary 'public opinion' and the dominant stratum in the key decision-making and 'bargaining' forum of the diet.⁶⁷ These efforts were discernible at two levels. For one, they are indirectly apparent in redescriptions of particular segments of collective identity discourses (political languages and constructed narratives of the normative past) with which the nobility was well acquainted, and at the same they were also manifest in the short passage that addresses the estates explicitly. The goal is to propagate the Hungarian language, but principally not against the nationalities living in Hungary but rather the nobility. This is evidently the reason why the question of Latin predominates in the text. The preference for Latin was a crucial element in the collective identity construct of the nobility. Therefore, including other elements of the nobility's self-perception into the argumentation (and their partial re-writing in the process) may be seen from this particular angle as a rhetorical manoeuvre that complements or supports the rationally constructed metanarrative of gradual refinement (based on 'historical experience') with emotional elements.

Nevertheless, it also appears that in the 'niches' that are contained within the reasoning in favour of the national language, there are also elements that bear no relation to either the discursive arsenal of the nobility's identity construct or the usual notions of refinement. These also mesh with the dominant and fundamental theme of national language, but appear at a whole different level of the textual arrangement: more implicitly, almost in a disguised form. Yet when seen from a *longue durée* perspective of the history of nation-building, with regard to the formation processes of different layers of collective identities (which are pre-eminently palpable through concepts of great social import, political languages and narratives of the normative past), these will become the genuinely significant elements. Nevertheless, they will do so in

67 I. Szijártó, *A diéta. A magyar rendek és az országgyűlés 1708–1792* [The diet. The Hungarian estates and the parliament, 1708–1792] (Budapest 2005), 401.

variants that also subsume individual elements of the conceptual-discursive substratum that provides the space for their emergence, that is, the building blocks of earlier versions of collective identity.

I believe one of the most important problems raised by the pamphlet consists in the question of whether it is legitimate to treat the language of cultural nationalism as an active, distinct political language in the context of the late eighteenth century. The analysis appears to support the case that we may rather talk here of a trend wherein elements borrowed from vocabularies of existing collective identity discourses were just beginning to merge into a new and larger discursive unit. This happened as a result of a *longue durée* process in which these elements were (re)shaped again and again, functioning in a new matrix of loyalties, value attributions and motives.

‘*Hungarus* Consciousness’ in the Age of Early Nationalism

Ambrus Miskolczy

According to a widely accepted definition, *Hungarus* consciousness is the identity that characterised residents of Hungary, regardless of their ethnic and social differences, until the end of the eighteenth century.¹ *Hungarus* consciousness, it is claimed, was destroyed by the emergence of *nationalism*. The *Hungarus* phenomenon is, of course, more complicated than this, but if we were to ask our fellow historians about the foundations of the *Hungarus* consciousness, the emergence of the term, and what else there is to be known about it, many of them—who have not dealt with some aspect of the question—would know little more than the above definition. In historical works—with the exception of a few specialist studies—*Hungarus* consciousness is mentioned far less often than in literary history. Nevertheless, the *Hungarus* phenomenon is very well known, although its name was slow to emerge in Hungarian historiography. It is, it must be admitted, difficult to fit into the historical narratives defined by national perspectives.

The Historiography of the *Hungarus* Phenomenon

It is no coincidence that those intellectuals who evoked the phenomenon in the 1930s and 40s were using it at the same time as a protest against the fascism of their age. Tibor Joó drew up the following schema: there existed a traditional, ancient Hungarian ‘nationalism,’ which the Hungarians brought with them from the world of the steppes. This ‘nationalism’ was the manifestation of the state-organising wisdom of the nomadic people. They were not concerned about language or ethnicity, since they were capable of mobilising the most diverse ethnic groups towards a common goal, just as the Huns, Avars and Khazars had, who may always have incorporated Hungarian-speaking

1 This is a shortened English version of the article “A ‘*Hungarus*-tudat’ a polgári-nemzeti átalakulás sodrában,” *Magyar Kisebbség* 17 (2012), 163–205. It was originally written as part of OTKA application (K 78 176) to Eötvös Loránd University’s Romanian Studies Department.

groups. The Hungarian Christian kings maintained this multi-ethnic tolerance, which persisted until the adoption of modern Western nationalism, linguistic nationalism, which divided the peoples of the Carpathian Basin, who had until then lived together free from ethnic rivalry, turning them against each other and leading to the dissolution of historical Hungary. According to Joó, the shared history of these peoples could have turned out differently if Hungarian nationalism had not diverged from its "hitherto *unique* course." *Hungarism*, the elevated term for the *Hungarus* phenomenon, was an unfortunate invention,² since the Hungarian Nazis adopted it as their own, while appropriating some of the greatest minds of Hungary's reform age in the nineteenth century, and destroying and disgracing Hungary's national existence with anti-Semitism, forming the fifth column of the Nazi Empire that turned Hungarians into a subsidiary nation of the superior race and dragging them into catastrophe.

In contrast to this policy, in 1940 Béla Pukánszky described relations between groups of German citizens and Hungary from the Age of Enlightenment until his own era. A fundamental characteristic of these relations was loyalty to the common homeland and to the Hungarians. He also revealed the individual and collective motivation behind the phenomenon that he referred to as the *Hungarus* idea: intellectuals and citizens had been living at peace, accepting the rights they enjoyed and understanding their own significance in the process of modernisation.³

Hungary's most influential national-political historian, Gyula Szekfű, who anticipated the Nazi menace in the mid-1930s, asserted programmatically in 1940, in opposition to racist-oriented speculations, that "cleansing our medieval ethnic concept, the spotless shield, is in our national interest, no matter how old-fashioned it may seem." He cited King Saint Stephen's *Admonitions* addressed to his son, a quotation that is part of the aforementioned shield: "A country using only one language and having only one custom is weak and frail." In Szekfű's view, it was undoubtedly anachronistic to use this as a guide and model, but the surrounding world was also outdated: democratic systems because they did not fulfil their obligations; while Nazism was atavism itself. According to Szekfű, the historical claim that King Stephen and his successors deliberately scattered national minorities within the country, with the goal of assimilation, gives "our history a German twist."⁴ This is another memento of an era in which investigations of causes and effects were connected with

2 T. Joó, *Magyar nacionalizmus* [Hungarian nationalism] (Budapest 1941), 193.

3 B. Pukánszky, *Német polgárság magyar földön* [The German bourgeoisie on Hungarian soil] (Budapest [1940] 2000), 21.

4 Gy. Szekfű, *Nép, nemzet, állam* [People, nation, state] (Budapest 2002), 467, 468.

historical witch-hunting. Szekfű had indeed also done this earlier, although more shrewdly than his more simpleminded contemporaries. He had blamed liberals and Jews for the decay that had led to Trianon, then, in 1943, seeing where the witch-hunt was leading, he suggested that the terrible price the Hungarians had to pay as part of modern nationalism was “not for our crimes, but for negligence alone.”⁵ The quote is taken from his work *A short history of the nationality question*—the logic of which is reminiscent of that of Tibor Joó, and while Szekfű uses richer historical material, he also fails to find an adequate term for the phenomenon that we call *Hungarus* consciousness. He claimed that ‘feudal nationalism’ had guaranteed ethnic peace and harmony.⁶ The only flaw in Szekfű’s terminology is that, a few years earlier, he had used the same term—‘feudal nationalism’—to characterise the early stages of the modern Hungarian national movement, when the nobility embraced the national idea and modern nationalism. At that time, Szekfű endowed the term with negative connotations, presenting the process as an enlightened veneer over the feudal anti-serf approach of olden times, a concept that found its way into vulgar Marxist historiography.⁷ On the other hand, his student Lajos Gogolák, who chose to emigrate to Vienna, presented in his Slovak history several specific instances that illustrate the meaning of *natio hungarica*. In 1722, for example, when Mihály Bencsik, a university professor in Trnava (Nagyszombat), wrote about the Slovak noblemen of Trenčín (Trencsény) as servants of the Hungarians, Ján Balthasar Magin, chaplain to the Illésházy family, responded with the argument that the ancestors of the Slovaks had received the Hungarians into their land and that the Slovaks were equal members of the *natio hungarica*.⁸ In other words, Slovaks were endeavouring to solve ethno-social conflicts within the framework of a common political nation, and trying to represent their interests jointly at the national assemblies. In contrast, the Romanians in Transylvania demanded the establishment of an independent *natio valachica*, eventually to develop the image of an accommodating

5 Szekfű, *Nép*, 545.

6 Szekfű, *Nép*, 524, 527–528.

7 Feudal nationalism was translated into vulgar Marxist narrative by Domokos Kosáry. See D. Kosáry, “Napóleon és Magyarország” [Napoleon and Hungary], *Századok* 105 (1971), 625–629; id., *Napóleon és Magyarország* (Budapest 1977), 147–156; id., *A magyar és európai politika történetéből* [From the history of Hungarian and European politics] (Budapest 2001), 215, 245–251. On abusing Szekfű’s concept, see Ambrus Miskolczy, *A felvilágosodás és a liberalizmus között. Folyamatosság vagy megszakítottság? Egy magyar történezművitató anatómiája* [Between Enlightenment and liberalism. Continuity or discontinuity? The anatomy of a debate among Hungarian historians] (Budapest 2007).

8 L. Gogolák, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes*, vol. 1 (Munich 1963), 190–192.

Romanian nation. In contrast, the *natio hungarica*—according to a writer on Slovak nationalism—was similar to the present-day American national consciousness, within which the blacks want to succeed by emphasising their own ethnicity.⁹ And we know that this *natio hungarica* long stood the test of time. Its cohesion was secured by a rebellion led by Imre Thököly and Ferenc Rákóczi against Habsburg oppression at the turn of the seventeenth century, and by the struggle against imperial mercenaries. The German citizens of Košice (Kassa) expressed their protest by, among other things, the acquisition of the Hungarian language. Ferenc Rákóczi was justly proud of his 'Slovak empire' and Slovak *kuruc* insurrectionist soldiers, who were not, of course, mobilised by the abstract idea of freedom but by the promise of tax cuts and the desire to raise themselves among the ranks of the free peasants. Mainly spread by Gypsies, the tune to the Rákóczi March is also of Slovak origin.¹⁰

Intellectuals from various ethnic groups formed a Republic of Letters, in which Mathias Bel, who can be regarded as the prototype of the *Hungarus* intellectual, defined his own identity as follows: "lingua Slavus, natione Hungarus, eruditione Germanus." In his German-language Hungarian grammar, he chose the motto: "Wie glücklich ist ein deutscher Mann / Der unter Ungarn ungrisch kann."¹¹ János (Ján) Ribiny, family tutor to the sons of Bel, denounced in Latin those who neglected Hungarian, the language inherited from their ancestors.¹²

The phenomenon of *Hungarus* consciousness was reinstated in Hungarian historiography by Erik Molnár, who, after 1956, when he no longer occupied any party or government position, devoted his mind entirely to historiography, organising a wide-ranging discussion among historians in order to do away with the political line of József Révai, whom he regarded as guilty in the intellectual build-up to the 1956 Revolution, which Révai called a counter-revolution. And, *horribile dictu*, he was right. After Rákosi allegedly referred to ten million fascists, Révai—who was, in his own way, a refined intellectual, a well-meaning man of letters and a shrewd Machiavellian of the popular front—using the cult of progressive traditions, freedom fights and popular movements, as well as the cult of 1848–49 (which, in practice, meant the Communist expropriation of the national past) did away with the mental burdens of the 1930s and 40s and abolished the sense of guilt, conjuring up the image of ten million freedom fighters, while the Party and the Ministry of the Interior were establishing a

9 P. Brock, *Slovenské národné obrodenie 1787–1847* [The Slovak national revival] (Bratislava 2002), 25–26.

10 Gogolák, *Beiträge*, 133.

11 M. Bel [Meliboëus], *Ungarischer Sprachmeister* (Preßburg 1731).

12 I. Ribiny, *Oratio de cultura linguae Hungaricae* (Sopron 1751), 12.

system of terror that hamstrung all intellectual liberties and physical freedom. Such a bizarre dialectic of reality and image could only pave the way to an explosion. Erik Molnár's aim was to explore the social aspects of the phenomenon of national character and to rewrite the history of Hungary in the specific spirit of the class struggle. The term '*Hungarus* phenomenon' was somewhat self-contradictory: "In addition to the idea of a noble fatherland, the concept of *hungarica natio* has emerged, mostly in the images of the Hungarian state as projected abroad. *Natio hungarica* included everyone, and in this sense a Hungarian, a *Hungarus*, was any member of the state community, regardless of feudal and nationality distinctions, a Slovak serf, as much as a German burgher or a Croatian nobleman. It was essentially a feudal form of modern citizenship."¹³ Undoubtedly, "the nobility that used Latin for political and legal purposes formed the self-conscious and arrogant backbone of the *Hungarus* nation,"¹⁴ but in reality the *natio hungarica* was a socially highly differentiated community. According to Henrik Marczali's masterful evocation of the peaceful and constructive eighteenth century, the Hungarian nobleman was like the *civis Romanus*.¹⁵ Erik Molnár's definition is influenced by the *pax sovietica*, since the Soviet people was made up of different nationalities that had—on paper—equal rights.

In the 1960s and 70s, the term '*Hungarus* consciousness' was eventually accepted in Hungarian historiography¹⁶ as the common heritage of the peoples living together in the Carpathian Basin. Nevertheless, in representative historical works this highly complex issue is only marginally discussed,¹⁷ and in the ten-volume *History of Hungary*, published in the 1980s, it is not even analysed, perhaps because 'historical progress' condemned it to gradual marginalisation and disappearance. Literary historians, however, have tried to dig deeper, since, by the nature of their subject matter, they are more concerned with the reality of multilingualism under the hegemony of the Latin language.

13 E. Molnár, *Vita a magyarországi osztályküzdelmekről és függetlenségi harcokról* [A debate on Hungarian class struggles and freedom fights] (Budapest 1965), 102.

14 K. Kecskeméti, "A magyar történelem megértésének kulcsszava: a pluralizmus" [Pluralism as the key word in the understanding of Hungarian history], *Magyar Tudomány* 168 (2007), 776.

15 H. Marczali, *Hungary in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge 1910), 233.

16 E. Arató, *A feudális nemzetiségtől a polgári nemzetig* [From feudal nationality to a bourgeois nation] (Budapest 1975); E. Niederhauser, *A nemzeti megújulási mozgalmak Kelet-Európában* [The movement for national renewal in Eastern Europe] (Budapest 1977).

17 Z. Fallenbüchl, *Magyarok és idegenek a török elleni felszabadító háborúk korszakában* [Hungarians and foreigners in the era of the anti-Turkish wars of liberation], available at <http://epa.oszk.hu/01400/01464/00019/pdf/423-463.pdf>, accessed on 15 Jan. 2013.

László Sziklay's history of Slovak literature presents several versions of *Hungarus* consciousness.¹⁸ Andor Tarnai explored the history of the boastful motto of old Hungary and *Hungarus* consciousness "Extra Hungariam non est vita, si est vita, non est ita," and in contradiction to Gyula Szekfű, who attributed the saying to the Jesuits and the nobility, Tarnai pointed out that "it had no relationship with the Jesuits and the nobility, who were not aware of it at all, but it expressed the patriotism and 'feudal citizenship' of German and Slovak intellectuals, which evolved from around the mid-seventeenth century, and reached its golden age from the 1690s until around 1770, to disappear as it became meaningless, when the peoples of Hungary stepped on the bourgeois path of national development."¹⁹ Tarnai proved widely inspiring and since the 1980s, and especially following the change of regime, a host of historical studies have been published on the subject.²⁰

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- 18 L. Sziklay, *A szlovák irodalom története* [The history of Slovak literature] (Budapest 1962); id., *Együttélés és többnyelvűség az irodalomban* [Coexistence and multilingualism in literature] (Budapest 1987).
- 19 A. Tarnai, *Extra Hungariam non est vita... (Egy szállóige történetéhez)* [*Extra Hungariam non est vita... (On the history of an adage)*] (Budapest 1969), 99–100, available at <http://mek.niif.hu/05400/05453/05453.htm#1>, accessed on 15 Jan. 2013.
- 20 I. Zombori, "Bél Mátyás munkájának előzménye: Parschitius Kristóf országleírása 1705-ből" [The antecedent to the work of Mátyás Bél: The country description of Kristóf Parschitius from 1705], *Múzeumi kutatások Csongrád megyében* (1980), 5–13; id., "A felvidéki evangélikus értelmiség" [The Lutheran intellectuals of Upper Hungary], in *A magyarországi értelmiség a XVII–XVIII. században*, ed. by I. Zombori (Szeged 1984), 82–91; I. Käfer, *Dona Nobis Pacem. Magyar-szlovák kérdések* [*Dona Nobis Pacem. Hungarian-Slovak issues*] (Piliscsaba 1998); I. Fried, *A közép-európai szövegüniverzum* [The Central European textual universe] (Budapest 2002), 47–68; I. Kollai, "Még titokkönyvként fekszik előttünk a Felföld'—Magyarok és szlovákok a polgárok uniójában" ["Upper Hungary still lies before us as a book of secrets"—Hungarians and Slovaks in the union of citizens], *Kortárs* 49 (2005), 65–81; I. Soós, "Értelmiségi minták és a Hungarus-tudat [Intellectual patterns and *Hungarus* consciousness], in *Regionális és nemzeti identitásformák a 18–20. századi magyar és a szlovák történelemben*, ed. by Š. Šutaj and L. Szarka (Prešov 2007), 10–19; Á. Barna, "A Regnum Hungariae megalapítása és a korai magyar-szlovák együttélés" [The foundation of the Regnum Hungariae and early Hungarian-Slovak coexistence], in *Hungaro-szlovakológia* [Hungaro-Slovakology], ed. by P. A. Illés (Budapest 2007), 63–140; L. N. Szelestei, "Hungarus – Hungaricus: Uhorský – maďarský. Naša spoločná minulosť a maďarčina" [*Hungarus – Hungaricus: Hungary-based – Hungarian. Our joint past and the Hungarian language*], in *Maďarsko—sloveské terminologické otázky /Magyar-szlovák terminológiai kérdések*, ed. by Á. Barna (Piliscsaba 2008), 47–52, 50–54. A. Miskolczi, "A 'hungarus alternatíva': példák és ellenpéldák (Fejes Jánostól Romy Károly Györgyig)" [The "*Hungarus* alternative": Examples and counter-examples (from János Fejes to Károly György Romy)], *Régió* 26 (2009), 3–45; id., "A hungarus-tudat a 19. században" [*Hungarus*

But has *Hungarus* consciousness become completely meaningless, and has it totally disappeared? The question, as raised by Tibor Joó, is whether the form could be filled with civic content. Could *Hungarus* consciousness be an alternative? Another viable way, as opposed to modern nationalism?

A concrete answer was provided by Moritz Csáky, a Hungarian historian living in Vienna at a time when Austrian and American historians were revising the history of the transnational Habsburg Monarchy, highlighting both explicitly and implicitly that its survival could have spared the peoples of the region much suffering. Csáky examined the transition from Enlightenment to liberalism between the 1790s and 1830s in Hungary but his thesis of a continuous transition, despite all the visible and real obstacles, was not accepted by the Hungarian guild of historians. In the historiography that joined the concepts of Gyula Szekfű with those of vulgar Marxism, the failure of the Martinovics conspiracy (1794) interrupted historical continuity. This interruption was seen as a peculiarity of the history of Hungary. On the other hand, Paris-based Károly Kecskeméti maintained that continuity was precisely what was unique to Hungary, and to the east of the Rhine Hungary was the only example of this continuity.²¹ Paradoxically, one of the main arguments against continuity is an argument for it: the myth of the great hero of the ‘age of reform,’ István Széchenyi, which he himself shaped in *Kelet népe* (People of the East), the myth of the awakener of the nation, who steps out of the darkness as if without a predecessor. The myth was influential also among later historians, who described his father, Ferenc Széchenyi, as originally a progressive thinker who later became reactionary. Indeed, István Széchenyi wrote something to this end in his diary in 1820: “My dear old father was seen by pater Viczay as an atheist, as an ardent patriot, as a furious royalist, as a zealot [Bettbruder], and so on. This is how the waves bore him. Where will they carry me?” Indeed, at the end of his life Széchenyi senior wrote a short article against the Enlightenment, but before then, at the beginning of the 1810s, he had given an essay on the constitutionalisation of the entire monarchy to Palatine Joseph, who had already submitted similar and equally unpopular ideas to the monarch. In 1817, Széchenyi senior also wrote a thesis in defence of the existing constitution of Hungary, in which he made proposals that pointed towards the liberalism

consciousness in the 19th century], *Limes* 22, no. 4 (2009), 71–96; id., “Povedomie Hungarus v 19. storočí,” *Historický časopis* 59 (2011), 215–241, available at www.historicky.casopis.sk/index.php?id=hc22011, accessed on 15 Jan. 2013.

21 Á. Deák, “a reformkor nem kezdet, hanem folytatás” (“the reform era is not a beginning but a continuation”). Interview with Károly Kecskeméti, *Aetas* 15 (2000), 297.

of the age of reform.²² His son carried on where his father had left off and became what his father had predicted in 1818, two years before his death, to the lawyer János Madarász in Vienna: "heart and soul Hungarian, and [...] in Hungary a greater patriot than him was never seen!"²³

Moritz Csáky, analysing Palatine Joseph's proposal to 'Hungaricise' the monarchy as a whole, concluded that a real alternative was offered by the *Hungari*, while the Hungarian (for which he used the Latin-sounding technical term *Magyari*) nationalists' argument "was irrational," and there was in fact a 'Hungarus alternative.' In the 1800s, Gergely Berzeviczy, one of the most original and radical *Hungarus* thinkers, was able to link the emancipation of the serfs with the *Hungarus* consciousness, while the linguistic nationalism of his opponent, the central figure of language reform, Ferenc Kazinczy, led to the eventual nationalism of the gentry. The *Hungarus* position was also expressed in István Széchenyi's famous speech at the Academy (1842), when he called for national patience. In the end, Hungarian nationalism prevailed, but the question remains whether this alternative was historically realistic. Do our sources allow for any other possible explanation? Our search for this alternative explanation involves recalling those conflicts in which the *Hungarus* phenomenon revealed itself. In our case, Hegel appears to be right: ideologies are worked out most clearly when history has already condemned them to decomposition.²⁴ The decay, however, was preceded by a golden age: Enlightenment, the language reform, and Freemasonry.

22 A. Miskolczy, "Az 'ismeretlen' Széchenyi Ferenc 'ismert' munkálata a Habsburg Birodalom hungarizálásáról" [The "known" work on the "Hungaricisation" of the Habsburg Empire by the "unknown" Ferenc Széchenyi], *Levéltári Közlemények* 77 (2006), 13–53.

23 J. Madarász, [Notes on Széchenyi's mother published as an annex to the minutes], in *Akadémiai Értesítő* 12 (1901), 46. The original of the survey can be found in the manuscript archive of the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences [hereafter МТАКК], K 163/42. I have placed between brackets the part omitted from the original. The following final part of the survey was also crossed out by the recorder: "Finally, I must add that in my youth, due to my legal profession, I visited many families of the high nobility, but I never met such a patriotic, enthusiastic and kind Hungarian noble lady as the wife of Count Ferenc Sechenyi [!], Julianna Festetits: the greatest Hungarian Count István must have been born and raised by such a mother. May she rest in peace!" The account was thus written after the death of Széchenyi.

24 K. Kumar, *The Making of the English Nation* (Cambridge 2003), 198.

Enlightenment, Language Reform, Freemasonry

The emergence of the supranational *Hungarus* alternative that incorporated the idea of national language was the result of the spread of the Enlightenment. “In the West,” writes Fukuyama, “Christianity first established the principle of the universality of human dignity, a principle that was brought down from the heavens and turned into a secular doctrine of universal human equality by the Enlightenment.”²⁵ With the Enlightenment, the promise of redemption in the afterlife was replaced by the secular promise of redemption, and the mystery of infinite progress emerged. And in opposition to the concept of the traditional feudal nation, there emerged the concept of the linguistic nation. According to the bestseller of the day, the French Encyclopaedia, a nation consisted of all the country’s inhabitants. On the continent, French had become the language of high society, Frederick the Great wrote and conversed in French and regarded German as the language of grooms, while Joseph II, whom he looked down on, favoured it. In Hungary, Latin was and remained the *lingua franca*. Latin ensured the unity of the country compared to other provinces of the monarchy. Its hegemony was ensured not only by its past, but also by the fact that it remained the language of science and justice, since the Hungarian language of the time lacked the necessary sophistication.²⁶ County officials addressed the people of the villages in their native language, but Latin was used at higher levels of the public administration, and educated people communicated in Latin. Many however, like Kazinczy, who was good at languages, complained about Latin. The rebellious son of the future general Miklós Vay ran away from school as a child because of Latin, but later perfected the language. István Széchenyi never learnt it, hated it, and saw the domestic use of Latin as a symbol of backwardness.

The mother tongue, on the other hand, is the language of vertical and horizontal social communication. With modernity, language created a communicative community. The mother tongue first became the language of the Bible, then of all knowledge. When, in 1765, György Bessenyei joined the Vienna bodyguards, he was surely more fluent in Latin than his French-educated German peers. On seeing the flourishing of German culture, he noted in 1778: “Take note of this great truth, that never on this earth could a nation claim wisdom or depth for itself until it introduced knowledge and scholarship in

25 F. Fukuyama, *The Great Disruption* (London 1999), 179.

26 I. Margócsy, “Hogyan alakult ki a magyar irodalom filozófiátlanságának tézise?” [How did the concept of the ‘unphilosophicalness’ of Hungarian literature emerge?], *Világosság* 48 (2007), 119–124.

its own language. All nations gained their education in their own language, never in a foreign one. [...] For this reason, then, the Hungarian language will only die out in our fatherland when the peasant women begin to learn Latin, Greek, French or German and stop speaking in Hungarian. Thus as long as the Hungarian peasant women speak Hungarian, the menfolk will also speak it, and as long as the serfs use the Hungarian language it will be impossible for their masters to forget it. So if we are thus obliged to keep our language, let us at least polish it up and work for our advancement."²⁷ Language purity meant language reform. Making the language secular, introducing new concepts, translating old ones, and making words and phrases more *pleasant*.²⁸

This is a rational approach to language. Gyula Szekfű claimed that Bessenyei, while remaining a landlord in the spirit of Werbőczy (the author of the *de facto* law book of Hungary), envisioned a Hungarian nation-state.²⁹ Szekfű's approach is still alive, although Bessenyei looked at the peasantry in a different way than did his truly Werbőczy-minded contemporaries. In an article published in *A holmi* (The what-not) in 1779, he noted that the nobility arose from the ranks of the peasantry and "shall return to them."³⁰ He merely noted it, since his essay on the customs of the Hungarian nation (*A magyar nemzetnek szokásairul*), in which he explored this social rotation in depth, was banned by the censor. Such a claim—that the nobility had emerged from the peasantry and would return to it, as "many noble descendants have turned into peasants"³¹—contradicted the official approach that championed the hereditary superiority of the nobility. A basic element of Bessenyei's national concept is the adoption of social mobility, along with the affirmation of merit as the basis for this mobility. All this is legitimised by nature. Because "human nature works in freedom."³² Social mobility is another natural phenomenon. "Your destiny," writes Bessenyei about the peasantry, "is like the sea, into which all the waters that branch from it flow back."³³ However, he condemned György Dózsa, the leader of the 1514 Peasants' War, and his uprising. The reformer

27 Gy. Bessenyei, "Magyarság" [Magyardom], in M. C. Ives, *Enlightenment and National Revival: Patterns of Interplay and Paradox in Late 18th Century Hungary: with a Selection of Documents in Translation* (Ann Arbor 1979), 100–101.

28 The word "kellem" (pleasantness) was invented by Kazinczy (*the editors*).

29 Gy. Szekfű, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian History], vol. 5 (Budapest 1936), 230–232.

30 Gy. Bessenyei, *Válogatott művei* [Selected works], ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 1987), 338.

31 *Ibid.*, 622.

32 *Ibid.*, 340.

33 *Ibid.*, 622.

feared the revolutionary. The bloody scenes of the French Revolution justified such fears.

The cultivation of language became a matter of individual and collective prosperity and was linked to primary emotions of individual identity. But as long as language was not ‘ready’—to use another of Kazinczy’s phrases—Latin remained the language of the *natio hungarica*. The first attempt was to replace Latin with German. The *Ratio educationis* contained an itemised list of the larger ‘nations’ in Hungary, seven altogether; it prescribed education in the mother tongue in elementary schools, while Latin remained the language of secondary and higher education; and it tried to promote the German language, which it considered to be desirable even in elementary education. In this way, an attempt was made to bring Hungary closer to the hereditary provinces of the monarchy, and to weaken the country’s independence and *Hungarus* consciousness with it.³⁴ The Enlightenment, however, began to give new meaning to *Hungarus* consciousness, which was rooted in the historical reality of the dualism of the hereditary provinces and the countries of the Hungarian Crown. In these latter—Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia—the feudal constitution was stronger than in the hereditary provinces. They had autonomous government agencies, they were separated from the hereditary lands by a customs border that favoured the industry of the hereditary lands, thus the threats to Hungarian and Croatian constitutionalism and colonial mercantile life (due to the discriminatory customs border) strengthened interdependence and the *Hungarus* consciousness. For this reason, Freemasonry, although it emerged as a transnational movement, developed a *Hungarus* character. In 1777 the Croatian Colonel Ivan Drašković (János Draskovich), who was transferred to the Székely border regiment as a result of his outspokenness, Count Stjepan (István) Niczky, and a few companions—after several years of discussions and negotiations—compiled the organisational rules of the Hungarian lodges (*Systema constitutionis Latomiae Libertatis sub Corona Hungariae in provinciam redactae*).³⁵ They did not build a countrywide, independent organisation

34 On the *Ratio educationis* see the chapter by Teodora Shek Brnardić in our volume.

35 L. von Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Oesterreich-Ungarn*, vol. 2 (Budapest 1890), 290–346. Abafi translates the constitution into German, but some parts were omitted from the Latin text or the German translation is not always accurate. Excerpts can be found in L. Abafi, *A szabadkőművesség története Magyarországon* [The history of Freemasonry in Hungary] (Budapest 1993), 86–90. Attention is called to inconsistencies by É. H. Balázs, *Bécs és Pest-Buda a régi századvégen 1765–1800* [Vienna and Pest-Buda in the old fin-de-siecle] (Budapest 1987), 156–160. According to Balázs, the only known authentic Latin text is the transcript by Captain Aigner: Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Kabinettsarchiv,

only to escape from subordination to the Austrian lodges. The independence of the Hungarian Freemasons was an expression of the need for the country's autonomy, as well as of the desire for social reform. As they explained in the introduction to the constitution, those who had been obliged to give up office as a result of others' greed for power wished to serve the common good as Freemasons, governed by the new constitution. Hungarian Freemasonry was therefore the self-organisation of society against the central power. It continued the tradition of independence, being *Hungarus* in character—that is, serving a fatherland that stood above ethnic nations as their joint state. Drašković himself was a Croat, and most of his lodges operated in Croatia.

This constitution of the Grand Lodge of Liberty was one of the catalysts of modernisation and 'bourgeois transformation.' It expounds the duties of various social groups to serve the public good. It explains appropriate conduct in various walks of life, from farming to industry and trade, and how to improve the lot of the serfs. The greatest value is freedom. The well-being of the people is based on freedom. "The word *freedom* is golden, the complete value of it can be comprehended only by honest-minded and elevated souls." The writers of the constitution thought it reasonable to ask how, in Freemasonry, freedom is compatible with hierarchy and obedience. The answer was that obedience should be by choice. "We choose our superiors, specifically the ones whose honesty, love of justice and true diligence we have ascertained, while the profane [i.e. non-Freemasons] obey those who owe their position to the approval of others or to blind fate." The masters, however, do not rule by power but by the heart; they do not give commands but guide people by a love of fairness. The Grand Lodge of Liberty offered a model that differed from the social reality of feudalism. It was the prototype of modern democratic culture, while the lodges became schools of anti-absolutist political resistance.

Chancellor Ferenc Esterházy, whose death was commemorated in the funeral march that Mozart dedicated to his Masonic brother, strongly intervened against the Josephinist reform dictatorship. He submitted a (counter-) reform proposal of several hundred pages to the monarch, with a preamble that was a Masonic credo going beyond *Hungarus* consciousness: "At this moment I forget that I am Hungarian. I will explain my thoughts as a citizen of the world, aiming at right and fair principles recognised by all public writers." The bulk of the work was undertaken by József Ürményi, the supposed chief author of the *Ratio educationis*, who did not fully share the Freemasons' programme of religious tolerance, although he was assisted by Sándor Pászthory,

Vertrauliche Akten, Kn. 60/2. ff. 1–195. With minor modifications, a version copied to a separate volume, МТАКК, Jogt. Polit. 2–18.

who was allegedly a member of the Illuminati. This work of the chancellery, the programme of some kind of ‘constitutional absolutism,’ was another major catalyst of modernisation, putting forward a system of compromises.³⁶

The emperor-king steadily carried on his own way—to his destruction. Undoubtedly, he initiated reforms that were programmatic for modernisation and used revolutionary means, such as equality before the law through the liberation of the serfs, or general and proportional taxation. Joseph II, however, envisaged the ‘bourgeois transformation’ of Hungarian society without the bourgeoisie, wishing to integrate all his subjects into a state machinery made ready for territorial expansion. His vision was of a ‘military welfare state.’³⁷ His policy of centralisation both strengthened and weakened the *Hungarus* consciousness. In his language law, he declared Latin, the language of the *natio hungarica*, to be a dead language and simply replaced it with German, describing the Hungarian language as undeveloped, which was a particular insult to the Hungarians. This was offset by the fact that he opened up the world of bureaucracy for many Hungarian intellectuals, which they had scarcely dreamed of. In the context of the relative freedom of the press, vernacular culture also developed, all the more so because the mother language had to be used in primary education, creating an extra incentive for language reform efforts. At the same time, he began to unite Hungary and Transylvania: he abolished the customs borders between the two provinces; absorbed the Transylvanian chancellery into the Hungarian; abolished the communal rights and autonomy of the politically recognised, language-based communities, the *nationes*, in Transylvania, and even banned the term *Saxonian nation*, declaring everyone to be Transylvanian.

In 1790, Joseph’s successor Leopold and the *natio hungarica* clashed. The death of Joseph unleashed a feudal restoration spectacular enough to mask some important aspects of reality even from historians. These historians write about a ‘hard core’ that cloaked Werbőczy’s conservative serf policy in Rousseauian phraseology, and linked it to their Hungarian language aspirations.³⁸ What happened in fact was that the ‘hard core’ of enlightened and masonic ideas had to adapt to, and mobilise, political society. Without

36 Lajos Hajdú, *II. József igazgatási reformjai Magyarországon* [Administrative reforms of Joseph II in Hungary] (Budapest 1982), 108–109. The term “constitutional absolutism” was invented by Károly Kecskeméti. C. Kecskeméti, *Notes, rapports et témoignages français sur la Hongrie 1717–1809* (Paris, Budapest and Szeged 2006), 123.

37 A. Tantner, “Die Quellen der Konskription,” in *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*, ed. by J. Pauser et al. (Munich 2004), 203. (homepage.univie.ac.at/...tantner/publikationen/Tantner_QuellenderKonskription.pdf—accessed on 27 Apr. 2011).

38 Ives, *Enlightenment and National Revival*, 15–16; G. Vermes, *Kulturális változások sodrában* [In the drift of cultural changes] (Budapest 2011), 109.

this, it had little chance of success. Pál Czindery translated the *Social Contract* into Latin in order to make an impact and to transform public thinking (since Rousseau had suggested to the Poles to achieve a change in thinking prior to social reforms). Péter Ócsai Balogh also wrote in Latin. In his programme he declared the end of the Habsburg dynasty and demanded the election of a king and monarchical republicanism. These writers learned republican virtues from their Latin reading, and Latin was the language of the lodges. Restoring Latin's earlier status as official language was not simply a gesture of feudal restoration (although for many this was the point) but also expressed the need to maintain the unity of the *natio hungarica*. Leopold's agents were inciting the peasants against the landlords and encouraging Serbian aspirations to autonomy, thus the last thing the 'hard core' wanted was to alienate the Slovak and Croatian nobility and genuine conservatives with demands for Hungarian as the official language. This did not bother the more radical, who kept their eye on the main goal. In 1790, József Hajnóczy, who always wrote in Latin and German, explained—in Latin—that King Saint Stephen had hindered the development of industry, culture, the arts and the sciences by importing the Latin language. However: "If we make the domestic language the official language, all classes of people—as in other countries—will have access to higher culture, the spirit of freedom will permeate all walks of life, and civic unity (*unio civilis*) will be stronger and—because it will be increasingly difficult for foreigners to rule us—increasingly safe."³⁹

For the Hungarian constitutional movement, symbols ensured the greatest cohesion. Above all, the Holy Crown, which was now carried back to Buda, the event amounting to a nationwide protest. But while this was a single, albeit the most important, manifestation, wearing national costume was now an everyday experience of protest and community building. The Hungarian costume was rather a *Hungarus* costume, which expressed the solidarity of the nobility—whether Croatian, Hungarian or Slovak. In 1786, Kazinczy visited Pászthory in Vienna wearing German dress, but on realising that his host was in Hungarian costume he hung his head in shame, sensing that the painting of Ivan Draskovich on the wall, "whose eyes were painted to gaze to the ground, blushes for me."⁴⁰ Kazinczy was also embarrassed by the figure of Nicolaus Skerlec (Nikola Škrlec), Croatian representative at the diet, who in 1790 acted

39 J. Hajnóczy, "A magyar országgyűlésen javaslandó törvények lényege" [The significance of the laws to be proposed in the diet], in *A magyar jakobinusok iratai*, 3 vols, ed. by K. Benda (Budapest 1952–1957), 1: 86.

40 F. Kazinczy, *Pályám emlékezete* [Memories of my career], ed. by D. Lengyel (Budapest [1943]), 115–116. The reference is made to Count Ivan Drašković (1740–1781), master and founder of freemasons. Cf. fn. 51 in the chapter by Piroška Balogh.

as a modern and farsighted *Hungarus*. Skerlec's politics indicates the inherent opportunities in the *Hungarus* consciousness, as well as their limitations. While grounding his arguments in the contract theory, referring to the contract between Hungary and Croatia, and advocating Latin, he also argued in favour of Croatian, using all the arguments that were brought up in favour of the Hungarian language.⁴¹ This explains why some historians thought "that the common Croat-Hungarian feudal front was broken up in 1790," despite the fact that Skerlec and Miklós Forgách later collaborated in the interests of the development of trade in Hungary.⁴² In fact, after the failure of the Polish-style diet programme of monarchical republicanism in 1790–91, Skerlec—who regarded the diet as "an assembly of the illiterate chattering riff-raff"⁴³—worked out the programme: *Genuina Hungariae constitutionis post adoptatam Sanctionem Pragmaticam principia*.⁴⁴ This plan also considered the *Pragmatica Sanctio* to be a contract (something never forgiven by the Viennese court),⁴⁵ and, following the British example, it demanded proportional participation on the part of Hungary in the emperor's top advisory bodies. It was reminiscent of the Constitution of the Grand Lodge of Liberty, thus it is no coincidence that it survived in the estates of the most prominent Hungarian Freemasons Miklós Forgách, Ferenc Széchenyi, György Festetics and Gergely Berzeviczy, and that a spy even managed to get hold of it before the coronation in October. The spy was particularly proud of himself because, as he pointed out, its "inherent poison is not so easy to see."⁴⁶ The poison was concealed not simply in the programme's compromissory character, but also in the fact that it was designed to make transparent the handling of the affairs of Hungary and the rest of the Monarchy. The Imperial War Council was duly outraged at this

41 Gy. Miskolczy, "Előszó" [Foreword], in *A horvát kérdés története és irományai a rendi állam korában* [The history of the Croatian question and related documents in the era of the feudal state], vol. 1 (Budapest 1927), 49–68.

42 D. Kosáry, *Művelődés a XVIII. századi Magyarországon* [Culture in 18th-century Hungary] (Budapest 1996), 362.

43 "Non Comitum morigeratae et illuminatae gentis, sed coetus inerudita garruli vulgi." Quoted by H. Marczali, *Az 1790/1-diki országgyűlés* [The diet of 1790/91], 2 vols. (Budapest 1907), 2: 331.

44 Budapest, Manuscript Archive of the National Széchenyi Library [hereafter OSZKK], Quart. Lat. 3319, f. 2–62.

45 *Józsefnádor iratai* [Documents of Palatine Joseph I], ed. S. Domanovszky, vol. 1 (Budapest 1925), 265.

46 Marczali, *Az 1790/1-diki országgyűlés*, 2: 342.

attempt to weaken the royal power and to subordinate the Hungarian army to the parliament.⁴⁷

The decrees of 1790–91 restored the historical dualism of feudal constitutionalism and royal absolutism.⁴⁸ Neither party liked the compromise, but this was the last great historical act of the *natio hungarica*. In fact, the compromise was merely an instrument of the emerging nations, primarily of the Hungarians and Croats. The new goal of enlightened Hungarian policy makers was to turn the *natio hungarica* into a Hungarian nation by gradually replacing Latin with the Hungarian language. They regarded the improvement of the lot of the serfs as a first step towards the shaping of a modern nation. There were two ways to do this: the first was via a reform dictatorship; the other was through the gradual extension of rights, or, to use reform age terminology, the elevation of the people into the nation, their elevation among the ramparts of the constitution, creating a sovereign nation instead of a *populus verbőczyanus*. The Martinovics movement took this course, but was beheaded.

This movement is also interesting from a *Hungarus* point of view, although it appears childish, irrational and utopian in retrospect. However, it was the age of utopias, when the French Revolution seemed so fantastic that many people, like Kazinczy, could only imagine it as the result of the work of some secret society. In fact, Martinovics and his companions expected to be backed by the armies of the French Revolution, and were prepared to join them and assume power with their help. Typically, Martinovics wrote his inflammatory catechism for the nobles in Latin, and his catechism on the completion of the revolution in French, and, as far as revolutionary utopianism was concerned, it became almost more French than the original. He himself, however, was a pragmatist and wished to turn the country into a federation of nations, while emphasising the sovereignty of the people and the country. Although the main organisers were naive enough to reveal a great deal, they remained silent about many things. The details—as far as we know them—are somewhat controversial. In his testimony, Kazinczy described how the Reformers' catechism called for armed struggle and "the establishment of a Pannonian republic along the lines of the American republic."⁴⁹ In fact, the catechism mentions only a federal republic. Did Martinovics write about this in German and Latin? What would have been the common language? Who knows? As the dynasty was German, perhaps it would have been Latin—to begin with.

47 Ibid., 2: 343.

48 C. Kecskeméti, *Pour comprendre l'histoire de l'autre Europe* (Paris 2011), 206–211.

49 See the written Latin confession of Kazinczy in the case of Martinovics (1795), in *A magyar jakobinusok*, 2: 348.

In the meantime, a gradual expansion of the Hungarian language in literature and county administration began, while Latin remained the language of jurisdiction and science. The outstanding Slovak historian Daniel Rapant called the introduction of the Hungarian language at county level ‘illegal Magyarisation,’ although in fact it was a normal national movement. What was peculiar to it was the fact that it was backed by a powerful nobility, which gained further strength by the voluntary assimilation of non-Hungarians.

It would be naive to believe that the *Hungarus* consciousness was simply crushed by Hungarian language aspirations. Time was working against it. Admittedly slowly, and not without conflict. Thus, in the 1790s, the clash between the *Hungarus* consciousness and Hungarian language aspirations was suppressed by common political interests, and for a few years there was hope of joint reform efforts. However, the European political climate changed for the worse. The decapitation of Martinovics and his peers in Buda was a message to the ‘regicide’ French as well as to the Hungarians; while there was only one Jacobin executed in Vienna, six were killed in Hungary. The enlightened Hungarian statesmen were relocated in different parts of the monarchy, removed from the country by being kicked upstairs. Decades of feudal and royal reaction followed, stringent censorship was suffocating the intellect, the postal service was opening letters, and the public, including Chief Justice József Ürményi, were terrified of informers. In 1809, the chief justice’s secretary István Horvát listened with huge satisfaction to his students, Ürményi’s sons, arguing so vehemently at the dining table in favour of using Hungarian as an official language that even their father “had no choice but to listen,” while after the discussion their mother “kissed her children.” Horvát was then amazed when, after leaving the table, “the old man” somewhat “rebuked his sons and asked them not to speak so freely in front of the servants,” perhaps also because, in the heat of the discussion, voices had also been raised in favour of the Poles.⁵⁰ On another occasion, Horvát was again taken aback when, after “the old man” had “lauded” Hungarian actors, the wife of a general challenged him in that case to cancel his rental of a box in the German theatre if “he had fallen so deeply in love with the Hungarian theatre,” at which the chief justice “blushed and muttered.”⁵¹ Indeed, the “old man” had learnt when to put on his “aulic face,”⁵² although apparently he occasionally acted out of character. Enlightenment

50 I. Horvát, *Mindennapi. Horvát István pest-budai naplója 1805–1809* [Everyday. The Pest-Buda diary of István Horvát], ed. A. Temesi et al. (Budapest 1967), 427–428.

51 *Ibid.*, 440.

52 *Ibid.*, 448.

ideals and human thoughts lived on in private company, and partly in schools. And, when the opportunity presented itself, they were given expression.

Gergely Berzeviczy's Hungarus 'Alternative'

The work of Gergely Berzeviczy, more than anyone else, epitomises the validity of Hegel's above-quoted aphorism.⁵³ Berzeviczy was a prominent member of the educated and entrepreneurial class of gentry owners of medium-sized estates who typically occupied county offices, while the aristocracy tended to monopolise prefectural and national offices. The county nobility did not therefore take kindly to aristocrats with county aspirations, apart from the office of prefect, although, on the basis of their individual talents, they sometimes achieved national office. Berzeviczy failed to do so, being obliged to leave Buda due to his participation in the Martinovics movement. He retired to Velká Lomnica (Kakaslomnic), near Mount Lomnický, which he called 'the Hungarian Switzerland.' He was active in public life in Szepes County, but it was too limited for him. He took part in the organisation of a noble uprising, but, due to poor health, he retired to his writing, at most going game shooting if the weather permitted. He rather fulfilled his ambitions in writing. The young Berzeviczy was taught to admire absolutism at school in Kežmarok (Késmárk), but breaking away from his education he defended the aristocratic constitution and criticised Joseph II, and as a member of the independence and reform movements in the 1790s he wrote about inviting an English prince to the throne. He addressed the public from the solitude of Lomnica, attacking royal retribution after the Martinovics conspiracy anonymously as "a war on talent and the sciences."⁵⁴ Meanwhile, he also fiercely criticised Austrian economic policy, and wrote of the harsh fate of the peasantry and the radical change in their situation. He proposed gradual reform to Palatine Joseph, and discussed the fate of the peasantry, its improvement, and the French Revolution, expressing sympathy for the Girondists. On failing to be elected to the diet of 1802, he realised that he would not be able to find followers among the nobility, and became a post-Josephinist, seeing military force and a reform dictatorship as the only means of change. He discussed the abolition of the

53 A. Miskolczy, *Kazinczy Ferenc útja a nyelvújítástól a politikai megújulásig. III. Reformot! De hogyan? avagy Kazinczy Ferenc és Berzeviczy Gergely vitája* [The path of Ferenc Kazinczy from language reform to political reform, vol. 3, Reform! But how? Or the debate between Ferenc Kazinczy and Gergely Berzeviczy] (Budapest 2010).

54 G. Berzeviczy, "Der Majestätsprocess in Ungern," in *A magyar jakobinusok*, 3: 331.

feudal insurrection with Archduke Charles. In 1809, anticipating the break-up of the monarchy, he worked out a constitutional plan for Napoleon in which he called for the abolition of serfdom more clearly than at any time earlier, arguing for an option that was subsequently enforced by Kossuth and his associates in 1848. In the 1810s he became the publicist of the coup efforts that targeted the post-Josephinist centralisation of the Monarchy, while dreaming of the removal of the customs borders between Hungary and the rest of the Monarchy, and of Hungary finding its way into the mainstream of world trade. He submitted his plan to the monarchs who defeated Napoleon, also intending to propose a unified Christian world religion.

Berzeviczy first analysed the Hungarian national question in his 1802 work on the peasantry.⁵⁵ He argued for Latin as official language, and while he suggested the abolition of serfdom, he also used anti-democratic demagoguery. Later he wrote in a letter that speakers of different languages might best be united by “the Latin language, which in some respects is not foreign to anyone”:

Political wisdom indicates its usefulness, since a monarchical-aristocratic constitution, aimed at excluding the common people from public life, requires a non-vernacular language. I wish this argument would not become popular, and that we would all be Hungarians to the extent to which we share the same feelings and the same language, but no matter how desirable it is that the Hungarian language should be generally used, for various reasons this is unlikely to become a reality. Who will make the people of Croatia and Slavonia, despite their municipal laws, and half the population of Hungary write and speak in Hungarian? Who can insist that a nobleman who lives among Slavs and Germans, without hearing Hungarian words all year long, should handle the Hungarian language with the ease it takes to manage and discuss public affairs?⁵⁶

Clearly, Berzeviczy’s relationship to the Hungarian language was ambiguous. His mother tongue was German. In his youth he even attempted to write a play in Hungarian, but for some unknown reason he came to resent the Hungarian language. In 1806, for example, he wrote in a letter that there was no need to employ Hungarian teachers in Levoča (Lőcse), and in any case “in general I do not like the fashion of the Hungarian language, which isolates us from Europe and halts progress in true European culture. It [i.e. the cult of the Hungarian

55 G. Berzeviczy, *De conditione et indole rusticorum: 1802*, ed. by J. Mariássy ([Levoča] 1809).

56 J. Gaal, *Berzeviczy Gergely élete és művei* [The life and works of Gergely Berzeviczy] (Budapest 1902), 160.

language] is part of national self-interest, and in Hungary we are not a nation at all."⁵⁷

A year later, however, Berzeviczy, as the district supervisor of the Tisza River Lutheran Church, issued a circular letter with the district bishop, in which he called for the establishment of a Gömör County National School, using distinctive national arguments:

Since it is the national language that makes a nation, consequently the termination of the national language terminates the nation as well: maintaining and perfecting the national language is essential for keeping up the nation's existence. This was and is recognised by those late, fervent patriots, who centuries ago took care to cultivate the language of the motherland; by those great figures of the country who flocked together to the national assembly; by those societies assembled specifically for the cultivation of the Hungarian language; by almost all the counties of the motherland; and by many scholarly works on the progress of the Hungarian language. [...] We do not refer here to the benefits that will accrue from such a national Hungarian school to the entire nation, the motherland, the ruling royal House, and we also remain silent about the fact that, by popularising the national language, the Hungarian nation will follow the example of the French, the English and the German nations to become almost like the first, nor do we make mention of the fact that any native of a land is bound to praise his motherland: we talk only about those benefits that are vital: namely, everyone will see that not knowing the Hungarian language will be an obstacle to taking up an office. Seeing this, everyone will be able to imagine the detrimental consequences [that is, the consequence of not finding a job].⁵⁸

57 MTAKK, M. Irod. Lev. 4–21. Letter from Berzeviczy to Károly György Romy, Lomnica, 10 Feb. 1806.

58 Károly György Romy called the attention of the national public to the circular letter: K. Gy. Romy, "Berzeviczy Gergelynek ítélete a Magyar nemzeti nyelvnek fenntartása, elterjedése és kimívelése szükségéről" [The judgement of Gergely Berzeviczy on the necessity of maintaining, spreading and cultivating the Hungarian language], *Hasznos mulatságok* [16] (1832, 11), 395. Romy wanted to refute the rumours about national indifference of his friend Berzeviczy. According to Romy, "Gergely Berzeviczy only published his books and several of his essays in German and Latin rather than Hungarian because, like me, having been born in Zips (Szepes) and having lived there, he did not speak and write Hungarian perfectly, and because he wanted to find a readership not only among Hungarians but also among Slovaks and Germans." He dated the circular letter 1808; in reality, it was written in

However, in 1811 the relationship between the monarch and the Hungarian nobility deteriorated. Metternich was keen to eliminate the Hungarian constitution in a radical fashion, but Napoleon would not allow him to. The devaluation carried out against the will of the diet hit the country's nobility and people equally hard. The king, wisely, did nothing, and until 1825 did not even summon a diet. Publicists launched attacks against the Hungarian nobility and the country's independence, the constitution and the laws were explained in such a way as to demonstrate the priority of sovereign rights over feudal rights. As part of this campaign, under the auspices of the Ministry of Police, they wanted to publish Berzeviczy's 1806 Latin-language work on the peasants—which had been banned in Hungary—in German translation. The idea was championed by Armbruster, the court secretary, referring to writers' 'invisible church' and *esprit de corps*, which he wished to destroy.⁵⁹ To this end, he suggested bestowing awards on some of them, who, in return, would act according to the police's instructions.⁶⁰ It was not down to Berzeviczy that the German translation of his work remained unpublished. Although he did not review the books that were given to him by his high-level sponsors, at their request he did write an account of the diet of 1811, in which he considered the efforts to make Hungarian the official language "a fad, and so it should remain."⁶¹ He also stressed that in Hungary, other nations and languages enjoyed similar rights as the Hungarian. Non-Hungarians are "politically as Hungarian [*Ungar*] as the Hungarian-speaking Hungarians." Native Hungarians make up barely a quarter of the country's population, "and in this sense there is no Hungarian nation, only a Hungarian Empire." The original inhabitants, the Slovaks, Romanians and Serbs, are "partly natives, and partly co-citizens [*Mitbürger*]." "On what grounds can we take away their language and force the Hungarian language on them?" The official language is Latin. "Only after Joseph II wanted to introduce the German language, and after the Josephinist [i.e. the anti-Josephinist] reaction, did efforts to make the Hungarian language dominant become pronounced. But Emperor Joseph had many refined arguments in favour of the German language, arguments that do not apply to the Hungarian language, and never will." Perhaps this statement would not have stood in the way of the publication of the manuscript. However, the dispassionate statement that,

1807, as András Cházár noted on his extant copy, in Budapest, Evangélikus Levéltár, AGE, III. e. 306. 118 v.

59 E. Wertheimer, *Az 1807-ik évi magyar országgyűlés* [The 1807 Hungarian diet], *Századok* 30 (1896), 305.

60 See the chapter by Lav Šubarić in this volume.

61 The Manuscript is kept in the Hungarian National Archives of Hungary [hereafter MOL], P 53, Berzeviczy family, bundle 129, no. 99.

according to members of the diet, four-fifths of the country's wealth had been lost as a result of devaluation, was not appreciated in Vienna.

In 1817, however, Berzeviczy took wing. Metternich then proposed to the ruler to transform the State Council into some kind of advisory body, in which the empire's provinces were also represented.⁶² The monarch did not even open the envelope that contained the proposal, although fireworks followed in the press as if some kind of radical state reform were imminent, which, if the Hungarian diet had been bypassed, would have been a coup. Meanwhile Berzeviczy devoted himself to his principal work, the *Panorama von Ungarn*, and in 1818 he added a foreword signed "At the Cape of Good Hope."⁶³ He even published some details. In one of them he proposed the extension of Latin as the official language to the entire monarchy. "This official language would express the nation-state and would promote state nationalism, to which priority should be given, as opposed to linguistic nationalism, since such narcissism is rarely useful and often hurts the state and the government and is always an obstacles to the state's higher and nobler aims, and to the people that are supposed to be made happy by the state." The concept of nationality must not be connected with that of language and origin, as nationality is a constitutional concept. "The unity of the government and administration leads to the uniformity of customs, laws and thinking, and it makes the different peoples into a nation-state even when they speak different languages, making us content with this nationality, since the original has been lost." After all, European nations and peoples were born out of the merger of earlier nations and peoples.⁶⁴

Berzeviczy's realism was complemented by his reactive imperialism. As he explained in the manuscript of the *Panorama von Ungarn*, "If Hungary had had a concentrated government, if the superior force of the privileged classes had not oppressed the peasantry, and without the setback of the raging religious wars, the Hungarian Empire would have incorporated every country south of the Danube to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, and would have extended its power to Europe, Asia and Africa."⁶⁵

62 On Metternich's plans see for example A. Palmer, *Metternich* (London 1972), 162–168.

63 Cf. J. Poór, "Berzeviczy Gergely Panorama von Ungarnja" [The Panorma von Ungarn by G. B.], *Levéltári Közlemények* 81 (2010), 33–73.

64 Gregor von Berzeviczy, "Etwas über Nazionen und Sprachen," *Archiv für Geographie, Historie, Staats- und Kriegkunst* [8] (June 1817), 287–289. The drafts of the article can be found in MOL, P 53, bundle 130, no. 128.

65 MOL, P 53, 129, bundle 94, t. 4/v.

By 1819, his only hope remained free trade, and in his work on this subject he once again made a stand for Latin, since “in the Kingdom of Hungary there can be no other legitimate, public and noble language.” He almost prayed that European rulers would make Latin the language of diplomacy, as well as the constitutional language in legislation and public administration.⁶⁶ He wrote his last work on the situation of the Hungarian Lutherans, concluding the list of religious grievances with the bitter statement: “We no longer have a country. Do they want us to emigrate? To flee to the German provinces of the Austrian Empire, where a more Christian spirit prevails?”⁶⁷ He himself wanted his son to purchase an aristocratic title, “to be both a *Hungarus* and wholesaler in Vienna”—through a good marriage but also with a commercial basis at home.⁶⁸ Because “in this corrupt world, wealth is inescapably necessary to do good. Is not an end but a means to a higher purpose.”⁶⁹

Berzeviczy's *Hungarus* consciousness is a rational formula. It reflects the enlightened man's fear of the unknown that nationalism represented. He did not even try to understand it, he simply dismissed it. The possibility of national conflicts deterred him. His creed was stoic pietism, with a deistic character. His church was an instrument for folk education and for collective disciplining via the dissemination of morality. He made no attempt to understand the spirit of national transformation. Although his library included the works of Rousseau, he recommended Horace to his son. His outlook combined utopian and realistic traits, and likewise, in his personal conduct, his desire for human autonomy was compromised by cooperation with the higher authorities.

The alternative represented by *Hungarus* consciousness to nationalisms is a historiographical utopia. The *Hungarus* phenomenon is itself complex. Berzeviczy represented the democratising trend within the *Hungarus* paradigm, while at the other pole was Slovak-born Ján Čaplovič (János Csaplovics), who considered the Hungarian feudal constitution to be better than the English constitution. He recognised only one nation and people, the *Hungarus*, meaning the privileged people, with the rest belonging to the plebs. In the 1820s, Čaplovič wrote with sympathy about the Hungarians, considering

66 G. Berzeviczy, *De Oeconomia Publico-Politica*. OSZKK, Quart. Lat. 2431. 5., 12.; Cf. Gall, *Berzeviczy Gergely élete és művei* [The life and works of Gergely Berzeviczy], 6, 14; and G. Berzeviczy, *A közgazdaságról* [On economics], (Budapest 2006), 29, 37.

67 G. Berzeviczy, *Nachrichten über den jetzigen Zustand der Evangelischen in Ungarn* (Leipzig 1822), 205.

68 Letter from Berzeviczy to László Teleki, Lomnica, 4 Apr. 1815, in MTAKK, MIL 4–11.

69 G. Berzeviczy, “An und für meinen Sohn Titus Eduard Berzeviczy” (draft), in MOL, P 53, bundle 79, 407.

the prediction of Herder about the demise of the Hungarian language to be false. Magyarisation efforts turned him against the Hungarians with a passion, in the spirit of some kind of Slavic romantic mysticism—or 'ethno-pathos' (in the words of Lajos Gogolák).⁷⁰ Could this be an alternative, if there are a number of examples between the two poles? The alternatives were provided by versions of nationalism. However, the question remains, as to how the quality of these versions was influenced by the historical heritage that we can also call the *Hungarus* phenomenon.

Hungarus Consciousness, Romanticism, Liberalism

Romanticism and liberalism partly absorbed and partly buried *Hungarus* consciousness. For many, *Hungarus* consciousness was a stage in becoming Hungarian. János Asbóth, a teacher in Kežmarok, wrote to his student Károly György Rummy (Karl Georg Rummy) to learn Hungarian diligently because "in scientific erudition hardly anyone can compete with the Protestant German intellectuals in Hungary, and if these intellectuals could appropriate the Hungarian language perfectly, then with systematic work they could raise themselves to be the leaders of domestic culture."⁷¹ One such example was Pál Hunfalvy, who later became a key figure in Hungarian linguistics. He was born near Velká Lomnica and went to school in Kežmarok, where one of Berzeviczy's colleagues, János (Johann) Genersich, was among his teachers. Hungarian political literature and fiction, however, offered him new opportunities:

And as the news of the Hungarians reached the Academy of Kežmarok, Kralovánszky had us translate Horace and Cicero into Hungarian. Széchenyi's *Világ* [World] was the first to impress us. I confess frankly that we watched the Hungarians from afar, and in such a manner that failed to incite a spirit of kindred. The Hungarian position was strange for us. "The Hungarian *jus nobilitare*, and what was in it for us, was not something we regretted losing." Whereas German literature was a land of promise for us, the realm of our hopes and desires. One who finds a precious stone among pebbles could not be more pleasantly surprised than we were upon reading Széchenyi's *Világ*. Like strangers who are happy to meet with goodness anywhere, we first appraised the new life, then found ourselves closer to it. We discovered *Hitel* [Credit, by Széchenyi],

70 Miskolczy, "A hungarus-tudat," 71–96.

71 Pukánszky, *Német polgárság*, 22.

[the poets] Berzsenyi, Kisfaludy and Kölcsey, and as if adopting a son, a zeal kindled within us for Hungarian culture. School exercises no longer satisfied us, and in the last year, under Kralovánszky's supervision, we have established a Hungarian society, which was obviously not comparable to the German, just as buds are not flowers, and our infant society remained even more of a bud as it found no following among Hungarian-born youth.⁷²

Enthusiasm was incited not simply for Hungarian culture, but also for Hungarian-mediated romanticism and liberalism, which we may also call active romanticism, after Victor Hugo's preface to *Cromwell*. The single community for romanticism is nation. Both romanticism and liberalism set the individual free: romanticism is the inner life of the free individual, while liberalism is the individual's public life. A liberated person wants to set others free: to be free Hungarians. And he shows no mercy. József Bajza pilloried one of the most educated and enlightened Hungarian writers, József Dessewfy. Ferenc Toldy attacked his master, Kazinczy, for translating an epic by Johann Ladislaus Pyrker from German into Hungarian, and for considering the author to be Hungarian, claiming "his feelings belong to us." But since Pyrker wrote in German, "with him our language, our poetry and our nation have lost a first-class champion," while translating the works of such writers amounts to "begging."⁷³ In his murderous epigram, Vörösmarty ridiculed the multilingual Károly Rummy as someone who could not speak a single language, while popularising Hungarian literature in German: "What you think in Slovak you say in rudimentary Latin, / Finally to print it in bad German: / Apollo should uphold your wise resolve, / Of building a new Babel for the human race."⁷⁴

Indeed, the polymath Rummy became a somewhat grotesque self-caricature of a man, who was unable to become a romantic linguist but was instead a multilingual cultural mediator and propagandist, who described his origins as follows: "a Hungarian born among the Germans of the Szepesség, with Hungarian blood in my veins, although as it happens my mother tongue is German, not Hungarian." He learnt Hungarian in Debrecen, claiming it to be "just like

72 P. Hunfalvy, "Emlékezés Késmárkra" [Remembering Késmárk], in *Studies* (Budapest 1873), 49 (originally in *Atheneum*, 1841).

73 Anonymus review signed with the monogram 'G.' on Kazinczy's translation: [G.], "A Szent Hajdan Gyöngyei" [The pearls of the Sacred Past], *Kritikai Lapok* (1831/1), 13–21.

74 "Mit tótul gondolsz, elmondasz konyhadiákúl, / Rossz német nyelven végre lenyomtatod azt: / Tartson meg tova is bölcs szándékodban Apollon, / Tőled egy új Bábelt várhat az emberi nem." M. Vörösmarty, "Rumynak."

Latin: majestic, beautiful and pleasant, more beautiful, majestic and pleasant than the German language, although the boundaries of Hungarian language and literature are narrower than those of Latin."⁷⁵ He advocated national patience. He mocked the rhetoric of Magyarisation and "Magyaromania," and when called on to apologise he emphasised specifically that he did not call friends of the Hungarian language Magyaromaniacs, "but only those excessive Hungarian writers who accuse those who write in German instead of Hungarian of being bad patriots, as well as the Magyarised writers who have turned their backs on their native languages and pursue our German and Slovak compatriots [...], and those who abuse unbiased Hungarians as Slavs, as someone abused me." We know this person was the great poet Vörösmarty.⁷⁶ Romy also stood up against Slovak aspirations towards exclusivity. He engaged in a dispute with the famous pamphlet *Sollen wir Magyaren werden?*, asserting that a nation can achieve national erudition only by its own strength, its own language. However, he sharply criticised the way in which this German treatise saw Magyarised Slavs—the so-called apostates—as the main enemy in the process of Magyarisation. Nonetheless, this aspect became a characteristic feature of Slovak nationalism.⁷⁷ (Ironically, in 1848 the Slovak author of the treatise, Samuel Hojč, turned against Slovak nationalism, and his son, Pál Hoitsy, became an advocate of Hungarian imperialism.)

Romy ignited the debate between Kazinczy and Berzeviczy in 1817, which was an exciting development in the national-cultural life of the decade. Early in the 1810s, Kazinczy wrote a review of Berzeviczy's book on rural life, although the censors prevented its publication. Romy, who was also in contact with Armbruster, had enjoyed the possibility of getting away with more than others. In Göttingen, he published Berzeviczy's critical writing on Austrian economic policy. In 1817, he also published Kazinczy's criticism, in which Berzeviczy was accused of anti-Hungarian cosmopolitanism. Berzeviczy did not take kindly to the attack. Romy later defended Berzeviczy, arguing that "despite all his delusions, which were due to his excessive Protestantism and cosmopolitanism,

75 K. Romy, "A magyar hazafi, egri érsek Pyrker László, mint német költőnek s írónak védelmezése, Cicero szavaival a kritikai lapok ellen" [The defence of Hungarian patriot and Archbishop of Eger Ladislaus Pyrker as a German poet and writer in the words of Cicero against critical papers], *Hasznos mulatságok* [17] no. 15 (June 1833/I), 378.

76 K. Romy, "Ellentmondás" [Contradiction], *Atheneum* (22 Apr. 1841), no. 48, 767.

77 S. Hojč, "Károly György Romy, 'Sollen wir Magyaren werden?' könyvecske szerzőjének némely hibás állításainak megcáfolása" [The refutation of certain erratic statements by the author of the pamphlet "Sollen wir Magyaren werden?"], in *OSZKK*, Oct. Hung. 240, 33–34.

he deserves more respect.”⁷⁸ He was proud to declare that Kazinczy’s “friendly and confidential letters written to me and to others breathe patriotism and cosmopolitanism, and they were and remain my models for connecting patriotism with cosmopolitanism.”⁷⁹ Due to his outspokenness, Romy became an intellectual ‘vagabond,’ obliged to wander from one school to another and finally converting to Catholicism to find peace under the wings of the Archbishop of Esztergom. However, when Čaplovič began to profess that natural law was “nothing more than fools’ justice, so it would be appropriate if its teaching were stopped,” since it had incited the French Revolution,⁸⁰ and the terms of natural law were “hollow phantasmagorias that have no bearing on reality,”⁸¹ Romy, as a ‘scholar of the law,’ defended the inheritance of the Enlightenment, which had become the foundation of emerging liberalism: “Natural law,” he wrote, “is a holy palladium of humanity and the nations against tyranny and despotism.”⁸²

And this man of enlightened natural law lectured the romantic liberals: Hungarian is not the indigenous language, “the indigenous language (*lingua patria*) in a certain country may be of many kinds, just like the mother tongue.” “There is a difference between the words ‘people’ (*populus, gens*) and ‘nation’ (*natio*). Many peoples live in Hungary, but there is only one Hungarian nation (*natio hungara*). And when an indigenous language such as Hungarian is elevated to the rank of state or country language, then it can be called a national language. The Hungarian language is currently therefore undoubtedly the language of the country, but it is not the only indigenous language!”⁸³ In 1840, he clarified his concept of nation:

I know only one nation in Hungary, the Hungarian nation or (to eliminate ambiguity) the nation and nationalities of Hungary, rather than a variety of nationalities (such as Slovak, German, Wallachian, Russian, Serbian, Jewish, Gypsy), but I recognise several peoples and ethnicities residing

78 F. Kazinczy, *Kazinczy Ferenc levelezése* [The correspondence of Ferenc Kazinczy], 21 vols., ed. by J. Váczy (Budapest 1890–1911), 16: 395.

79 K. Romy, “Válasz Tóth Lőrincz urnak” [Reply to Mr Lőrinc Tóth], *Hírnök*, no. 72 (7 Sept. 1840) [no page number].

80 J. Csaplovics, “A természetjog. Paradoxon Csaplovicstól” [Natural law. Paradox from Csaplovics], *Századunk* 1 (1838), 57–63, 132–136, 141–144, 427–432.

81 J. Csaplovics, “Ki a jurista?” [Who is a lawyer?], *Századunk* 1 (1838), 675–682.

82 K. Romy, “A természetjog” [Natural law], *Századunk* 1 (1838), 731–735.

83 K. Romy, “Tanuló ifjak játékszíni gyakorlása Esztergomban” [Students’ theatrical practice in Esztergom], *Hasznos mulatságok* [17], no. 11 (7 Aug. 1833), 84.

in Hungary with a variety of languages. There is a big difference between nation and language, nationality and ethnicity [...] Although in many respects it would be desirable in Hungary [...] to have only one people and language (and it is also a good thing when a nation has only one religion), since this is not the case [...], and since it would be a sin to forcibly deprive other nations of their mother tongues (all peoples are attached both to their native language and their religion), we should be content with making a living language, Hungarian, the official and national language of Hungary rather than the dead Latin language, [...] and through appropriate and gentle methods we must strive increasingly to spread knowledge of the Hungarian national language among the other peoples of Hungary. [...] In a well-run country there is national unity even where there are more peoples and more languages, such as Great Britain, and several peoples living together in a single country do make it weaker, as proved by Hungary under the reign of Maria Theresa. And Saint Stephen proved his broad political outlook [...] when he wrote *Unius linguae uniusque moris regnum imbecille et fragile est*.⁸⁴

In this way Romy Magyarised *Hungarus* consciousness and brought it close to the Nationality Decree of 1849 and the nation concept of the 1868 Nationality Act. However, this was a lengthy process. But Kossuth was undoubtedly right: “1848 [...] was conceived in 1790.”⁸⁵ In 1790, an excellent political staff managed events, without a true army. One illustrious member of this staff, József Vay, who was a forerunner of Ferenc Deák, the man of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, in terms of attitude, predicted the reconciliatory policy in 1817 in a Latin-language article:

It is clear that the spirit of the century, the reform, if it can be implemented in some respects, should not be achieved by restricting the liberties and immunities secured by law, nor by destroying the constitution, but by the extension of personal and property rights—according to each person’s status—to each citizen of the Kingdom.⁸⁶

84 K. Romy, “Válasz” [Response], *Hírnök*, no. 82 (1840) [no page number].

85 L. Kossuth, *Irataim az emigrációból* [My writings from exile], 13 vols. (Budapest 1880–1911), 10: 100.

86 József Vay’s response (Reflexiones ad recensionem operis Piringeriani Ephemeridibus Viennensibus, Anno 1816. Nris 104 et sequent. insertam) has prevailed in three copies in the OSZKK only. Their reference number is Quart. Lat. 2163, 2376, 2586. The one

As “the sons of God” entered the literary scene (to use Kazinczy’s expression again), so demi-gods also appeared in politics, with their minds set on the consolidation of interests. Paradoxically, it was Kossuth who had the strongest attachment to the *Hungarus* world. His father had left behind his Slovak roots and his mother her German background (his maternal ancestors had Magyarised their names from Kaltenstein to Hidegkövy),⁸⁷ although his uncle cooperated with the Slovak nationalists, representing the anti-reform Slovak gentry. Kossuth spoke only as much Slovak as he had picked up during two years of study in Prešov (Eperjes). Nevertheless, he had learnt many things there. He had studied philosophy under Zsigmond Carlowszky (Sigismundus Carlowski), who spoke Latin as if it were his first language, while his natural law textbook argued in favour of democratic forms in such a manner that, if the more moderate natural law of the Levoča-based Samuel Fuchs was banned,⁸⁸ his work would have deserved even more severe punishment, had he published it.⁸⁹ Another of Kossuth’s teachers, Mihály Greguss, combined natural law with modern romanticism. Under his guidance Kossuth translated Volney. In Prešov, Hungarian history was viewed as Berzeviczy had viewed it in his manuscripts, and Kossuth was probably familiar with Berzeviczy’s 1790 pamphlet in which he proposed putting a British prince on the Hungarian throne.⁹⁰ However, he did not study only philosophy and other academic subjects. He studied life as well. He witnessed the peaceful daily lives of multilingual citizens.⁹¹ And this

under the first reference belonged to the collection of Pál Jászay. Its point of interest is the possessor’s note from 25 Oct. 1825, according to which royal counsel Máté Stetner “confided to me” that Vay amended the text in blue ink. Vay, who obviously first dictated the text then corrected it, also modified our quote: “Illud clarum esse videtur, genium seculi, reformationem, si quae in quibusdam suscipienda videretur, non per coercionem libertatis et immunitatum jam lege stabilitarum, non per constitutionis ruinam, sed per personalis ac proprietatum securitatis, pro ratione conditionis singulorum, ampliorem ad omnes Regni Incolas extensionem <posse obtineri> poscere [this latter word in blue].” OSZKK, Quart. Lat. 2163, 12.

87 Marczali, *Hungary*, 234.

88 S. Fuchs, *Elementa juris naturae* (Levoča 1803). Cf. the manuscript in MOL, A 39 Magyar Királyi Kancellária, általános iratok, 1805: 8967.

89 S. Carlowszky, “Jus naturae” (1811), in Prešov, Evangelic Lutheran College, Fq 532—Prot. Kol.

90 I. Révész, “Kossuth és a Függetlenségi Nyilatkozat” [Kossuth and the Declaration of Independence], in *Emlékkönyv Kossuth Lajos születésének 150. évfordulójára*, 2 vols., ed. by Z. I. Tóth (Budapest 1952), 1: 440.

91 A. Miskolczy, *Kossuth Eperjesen. Carlowsky Zsigmond és Greguss Mihály jogbölcselete* [Kossuth in Eperjes. The philosophy of law of Zsigmond Carlowsky and Mihály Greguss] (Budapest 2007).

formed the basis of the optimism he needed for planning a new Hungary and laying its foundations.⁹² After all, it was not merely a task of political engineering: there was a now vanished world with all its diversity in the background—a world increasingly in the mainstream of modernity. Kossuth himself may have felt that he was continuing what the Hungarian Jacobins had begun. But while Hajnóczy had no crystallised ideas on the liberation of the serfs, Kossuth did, and he implemented them in practice.

The year 1790 was that of the success of the *natio hungarica*; 1848 was that of modern Hungary. The preamble to the laws of 1790 details the relationship between the king and the nation, primarily the king's rights, and only Article 10 confirms the country's independence. In the preamble to the law of 1848, the basic requirement is "the unification of all Hungarian people in law and in interest." The only question is what defines this people. Kossuth and his associates probably avoided the term 'nation' deliberately. It perhaps conveyed the concept of 'one people—many nations,' which was represented by Braşov-based Leopold Max Moltke, who wrote the popular anthem of the Transylvanian Saxons and, as a soldier of Bem, dedicated his small volume of poetry to Kossuth as "the first president of the first Eastern European republic, the liberator of Hungary."⁹³ Then, in the early 1850s, in lectures delivered in England, Kossuth clearly stated that

the same nationality can be made up of several nations, and one nation can contain several nationalities. There are many examples of both. There are as many nations as there are states; they can be formed only by history. Nationality is a natural quality and a social interest that may have its place among other social interests within the state, but not above the state and not against the interests of the state. There are very many nations in the world, the members of which belong to various nationalities; in fact, there is hardly any state in which all the inhabitants belong to the same nationality, but (with the exception of Russian absolutism's Russifying aspirations in the martyr Poland) language is only an issue under Austrian rule, nowhere else!⁹⁴

92 Gy. Szabad, *Kossuth irányadása* [Kossuth's guidance] (Budapest 2002).

93 A. Miskolczy, "Leopold Max Moltke és Kossuth Lajos" [Leopold Max Moltke and Lajos Kossuth], *Alföld*, no. 9 (1977), 20–24.

94 L. Kossuth, "Nyelvkérdés" [The language question], in *Irataim*, 2: 145.

Kossuth had earlier preferred not to define nation, obviously aware of the discord that the definition could arouse. In certain conflict situations, such as the 1847 debate on citizenship, he emphasised the unity of the Hungarian political nation. Contrary to the Magyarisation rhetoric, he stressed that the Hungarian language must not be extended to the private sphere of non-Hungarians. The proof of his good faith is the fact that he did not expect a turn in fortunes by non-Hungarian Kossuths stepping onto the scene. We know that it happened, but the civil war was not simply a clash between Kossuths of different nationalities; the topography and social geography of the interactive spiral of violence cannot be described in schemas.

Before and After 1773: Central European Jesuits, the Politics of Language and Discourses of Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy

Per Pippin Aspaas and László Kontler

The eighteenth century is widely regarded as having inaugurated the advent of multilingual modernity in European culture.¹ Even learned communication within the republic of letters seems to have been gradually but decisively shifting towards the use of modernised vernaculars. Yet, amidst the competition with French as an emerging international *lingua franca*, as well as with local rivals, Latin demonstrated a strong resilience. Latin was not only the sacred language of a Church (ideally) encompassing the entirety of humanity, it was also seen by many as a prerequisite for the unity and universality of the transnational *respublica litteraria*.² Jesuit scholars were foremost among those who continued to champion the cause of Latin in learned communication. The suppression of the Society of Jesus, which culminated in the 1773 bull of Pope Clemens XIV, marks therefore a watershed in the contest of Latin with European vernacular languages for the control of learned discourse.

Until this point, the Habsburg Monarchy had been recognised as a stronghold of Jesuit learning—and of the Latin language. It was not merely a question of the religious policies of the House of Habsburg, which tended to promote conservative Catholicism and, almost by consequence, Latin; other factors were important as well. In addition to religion, the cultural, political and ethnic

1 F. Oz-Salzberger, “The Enlightenment in Translation: Regional, Cosmopolitan and National Aspects,” *European Review of History / Revue européenne d’histoire*, 13, no. 3 (2006), 385–410, with references.

2 E.g. R. Chartier and P. Corsi, eds., *Sciences et langues en Europe* (Paris 1996); F. Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London 2001); P. Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2004). For a brief discussion, see P. P. Aspaas, “The use of Latin and the European republic of letters: Change and continuity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,” *Nordlit* 33 (2014), 281–295 (also available at <http://septentrio.uit.no/index.php/nordlit/article/view/3169/3038>).

diversity of the Habsburg lands lay at the heart of the language question, or rather language *questions*, of the time. Latin not only had a part to play when universalist ideals were at stake. Paradoxically, the cultivation of the ancient tongue could also be turned to entrenching the identities of ‘subaltern’ groups in the empire. Its status as an official language of the Kingdom of Hungary illustrates this. When Joseph II attempted to impose German as the official language of entire Hungary with his 1784 German language edict, he met with fierce opposition. This opposition ran essentially along two lines: either Latin was to be retained, or Hungarian (not German) was to be allowed *alongside* Latin.³ Soon, during the 50 years when the use of Hungarian in public affairs was promoted vigorously and finally became enacted in 1844, the Croats would resist the spread of Hungarian in exactly the same way: while Latin for the Hungarians during the 1780s had served as a bulwark against Germanisation, it was later evoked to protect the Croats against Magyarisation.⁴ Earlier in the eighteenth century, Orthodox Serbs had included Latin in the curriculum of their religious schools, partly as a measure to avoid too much restriction from Habsburg censorship regarding the substance of their teachings.⁵ Finally, in this ethnically and linguistically diverse country, Latin served as an identity marker in a more comprehensive sense. More than an ordinary *lingua franca*, Latin can be considered a ‘second mother tongue’ for the population of Hungary during the early modern period.⁶ Those who were not necessarily *Magyar* by descent and language could still be identified as *Hungarus*, i.e. members of the *Hungarica natio*. This concept emerged from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, and by the later eighteenth century it had come to denote a cultural and civil-political community bound together by allegiance to the values of national tolerance and neutrality, and to the cultural, administrative and legal

3 É. H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs, 1765–1800: An Experiment in Enlightened Absolutism* (Budapest 1997), 205–211.

4 H. Jurčić, “Das ungarisch-kroatische Verhältnis im Spiegel des Sprachenstreites 1790–1848,” *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 3 (1971), 68–87.

5 See the chapter by Nenad Ristović in the present volume. Also see his “Acculturation versus Assimilation. The role of the Orthodox Church in the Organization of Western Modern-Age Classical Education among the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy,” in *Encounters in Europe’s Southeast: The Habsburg Empire and the Orthodox World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by H. Heppner and E. Posch (Bochum 2012), 191–204.

6 I. Gy. Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe* (Budapest 2000), 130–145; id., “Les analphabètes et les almanachs en Hongrie au XVII^e siècle,” in *Les lectures du peuple en Europe et dans les Amériques du XVII^e au XX^e siècle*, ed. by H.-J. Lüsebrink, Y.-G. Mix, J.-Y. Mollier and P. Sorel (Brussels 2003), 127–133.

traditions of the composite, multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary.⁷ Latin was the language of these traditions, and thus a pre-eminent factor in cementing the unity and integrity of the country.

This chapter revisits the complexities and ambivalences of the championing of the Latin language in combination with a sympathetic inquiry into the language and history of the Magyars by two Jesuit scholars of *Hungarus* stock during the heyday of Habsburg enlightened absolutism. In 1770, the *Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Laponum idem esse* of Joannes (János) Sajnovics was published, arguing that the Lappian (or Saami, Sámi, Sami) language of the indigenous population of far-northern Norway in essence was the ‘same language’ as Hungarian. This treatise was followed by theoretical deliberations by Sajnovics’s mentor Maximilianus (Maximilian) Hell, who searched for the Hungarian—and Lappian—*Urheimat* in eastern Finland and north-western Russia, or perhaps even further east across the Urals to China. Both Sajnovics’s treatise and Hell’s inquiries became contested in late eighteenth-century Hungary. Furthermore, when Maximilian Hell embraced the Magyar cause and at the same time reasserted the status of Latin as the language of learned communication he also went against the tide of Viennese politics.

After introducing the two main characters of this chapter and outlining the ‘prehistory’ of what is now established as Finno-Ugrian studies (an academic field in which Sajnovics’s *Demonstratio* is generally rated highly), we shall briefly discuss the Central European reception of both Sajnovics’s linguistic and Hell’s historical contributions, attempting to locate them in the complex web of cultural sensitivities and political agendas in the late eighteenth-century Habsburg monarchy. This will be followed by a consideration of Hell’s simultaneous and subsequent efforts to fend off the imperial promotion of German in public and academic communication at the expense of Latin. Taken together,

7 Some scholars have attributed the rise of the concept to the philosophy of history worked out by Hungarian Jesuits and, more generally, to the “national Baroque”; others to the patriotism of the Slovak and German Lutheran professionals; still others stress that from the mid-eighteenth century the Enlightenment notion of humanity (*Humanität* / *Menschenliebe*) was crucial to it. See Gy. Szekfű, *Magyar történet* [Hungarian history] (Budapest 1935), 4:378–379; A. Tarnai, *Extra Hungariam non est vita... (Egy szállóige történetéhez)* [Extra Hungariam non est vita... (On the history of an adage)] (Budapest 1969), 99–100; M. Csáky, “Die Hungarus-Konzeption,” in *Ungarn und Österreich unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II.*, ed. by A. M. Drabek, R. G. Plaschka and A. Wandruszka (Vienna 1982), 71–89; I. Fried, “A hungarus-tudat kérdőjelei” [Question marks of *Hungarus* consciousness], in *A közép-európai szövegüniverzum* (Budapest 2002), 47–68; A. Miskolczy, “A ‘hungarus alternativa’: példák és ellenpéldák” [The “*Hungarus* alternative”: Examples and counter-examples], *Regio* 20, no. 2 (2009), 3–46.

the elaboration of these themes is intended to shed light on the predicament and scope of action of *Hungarus* Jesuit savants vis-à-vis the key actors of the political arena under Habsburg enlightened reform in the aftermath of the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

Maximilianus (Maximilian) Hell and Joannes (János) Sajnovics

Maximilian Hell (1720–1792) was born in a village just outside Banská Štiavnica (or Schemnium, Schemnitz, Selmechánya), the centre of a prosperous mining region in what was then north Hungary, but is now in the middle of Slovakia.⁸ Both his parents were German-speaking; in fact his family name was Höll, not Hell. He was sent to the Jesuit schools (where he became fluent in Latin) and only as a 35-year-old did he start using the form Hell. Whether he ever learnt Hungarian, and especially how fluently, is highly questionable, but he is recorded to have mastered a Slavic tongue, most probably Slovak. His Jesuit training took him from the heart of north Hungary to Vienna and then all across the Carpathian Basin to Transylvanian Cluj (Kolozsvár, Klausenburg, Claudiopolis). In 1755, he was called back to Vienna to become the Imperial and Royal Astronomer of Empress Maria Theresa. A highly prolific writer, Hell's working languages in his correspondence and printed publications were predominantly Latin, and especially in his later years German as well. As an ex-Jesuit, Hell retained his post as imperial astronomer and continued to issue various works in astronomy and related disciplines, his chef d'oeuvre being the *Ephemerides Astronomicae ad Meridianum Vindobonensem*, a large-format, combined astronomical almanac and scientific journal issued every year from 1757 onwards.⁹ Meanwhile, however, he had also developed an interest in the Hungarian language and in the historic origins of the Magyars.

In the year 1769, the planet Venus transited the disc of the Sun. The event offered a rare opportunity to measure the distance between the Sun and the Earth, and indeed the scale of the entire solar system. Caught up in a

8 The present biographical sketch is based on P. P. Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell (1720–1792) and the Eighteenth-Century Transits of Venus: A Study of Jesuit Science in Nordic and Central European Contexts* (Tromsø 2012), 45–182.

9 For a full-scale analysis of Hell's *Ephemerides*, see L. Kontler, "The Uses of Knowledge and the Symbolic Map of the Enlightened Monarchy of the Habsburgs: Maximilian Hell as Imperial and Royal Astronomer (1755–1792)," in L. Kontler, A. Romano, S. Sebastiani and Zs. Török, eds., *Negotiating Knowledge, Decentering Empires: The Sciences of Heavens, Earth, and Man, c. 1550–1810* (Basingstoke and New York 2014), 79–105.

competition of imperial, royal and governmental patrons aiming to sponsor solutions to this scientific riddle, Hell was invited by the King of Denmark and Norway to undertake an expedition to the remote destination of Vardøhus (Vardø), a small island settlement on the north-easternmost coast of Norway.¹⁰ In this exotic region known as Lapland, however, it was not just the transit of Venus which was studied by Hell and his associates, notably his former pupil at the Viennese university observatory, János Sajnovics (1733–1785).

The very name Sajnovics betrays a Croat origin.¹¹ The forefathers of János Sajnovics had immigrated to the central region of Hungary, where they became the holders of an estate (and a patent of petty nobility) in Tordas in Fejér County. Although Sajnovics in ethnic terms might be considered a Croat, he spoke Hungarian as his mother tongue. As a Jesuit priest, he was fluent in Latin and seems to have acquired a certain knowledge of German as well. As with many *Hungari*, Hell and Sajnovics communicated in Latin probably not only in their correspondence but also orally. Although Sajnovics had studied for some years in Vienna, where he assisted the imperial astronomer in his observatory, he had primarily been educated at Hungary's single university in Tyrnavia (Trnava, Tynau, Nagyszombat). His intimate knowledge of the Hungarian language was his only formal qualification for his landmark contribution to the history of comparative linguistics. During the expedition, Sajnovics made several interviews with Saami, or Lapps as they were called at

10 The expedition figures as an episode in Harry Woolf's standard *The Transits of Venus: A Study of Eighteenth-Century Science* (Princeton 1959), as well as in several surveys occasioned by the 2004 and 2012 transits: E. Maor, *June 4, 2004: Venus in Transit* (Princeton 2004); W. Sheehan and J. Westfall, *The Transits of Venus* (Amherst 2004); C. Marlot, *Les passages de Vénus: Histoire et observation d'un phénomène astronomique* (Paris 2004); A. Wulf, *Chasing Venus: The Race to Measure the Heavens* (New York 2012). Most recently, see Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, 184–341; id., "Maximilian Hellin ja Johannes Sajnovicsin 'Expediitio litteraria ad Polum arcticum' ja suomalais-ugrilaisen kielentutkimuksen synty" [The "Expediitio litteraria ad Polum arcticum" of Maximilianus Hell and Joannes Sajnovics and the beginnings of Finno-Ugrian linguistics], in *Lapin tuhat tarinaa*, ed. by O. Pekonen and J. Stén (Ranua 2012), 65–86; L. Kontler, "Distances Celestial and Terrestrial. Maximilian Hell's Arctic Expedition, 1768–1769: Contexts and Responses," in *The Practice of Knowledge and the Figure of the Savant in the 18th Century*, ed. by A. Holenstein, H. Steinke and M. Stuber (Leiden 2013), 721–750.

11 For a traditional biography, see E. Kisbán, *Johann Sajnovics: Leben und Werk eines ungarischen Bahnbohrers und Gelehrten* (Budapest 1943; orig. pub. in Hun. in 1942; also pub. in French in 1944); see further J. Erdódi, "Sajnovics, der Mensch und der Gelehrte," *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 20 (1970), 291–322. The most recent full biography is G. Lakó, *János Sajnovics* (Budapest 1983). Briefly in Eng., see Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, esp. 116–120 (with references).

the time. Thanks to these interviews, he ventured to prove earlier hypotheses that Hungarian and Saami belonged to the same language group, currently known as the Finno-Ugrian language family. On his way back from Norway, Sajnovics developed his theory into the impressive *Demonstratio*. The treatise was first published in Latin and Danish under the auspices of the Royal Society of Sciences in Copenhagen, where Hell and Sajnovics spent eight months during their return voyage from Vardøhus, and then it was reissued in an enhanced edition in Tyrnavia upon Sajnovics's return there in 1771.¹²

Having just published the second edition of the *Demonstratio*, Sajnovics wrote in an optimistic letter to a Jesuit colleague that he now hoped to become "the Royal astronomer of Hungary." This position, it seems, was envisaged for him by Father Hell, who planned to have a new observatory constructed in conjunction with the Jesuit collegium in Buda.¹³ This did not come about. Sajnovics returned to his home university in Tyrnavia where he carried on a career as an assistant of the older Jesuit astronomer Franciscus (Ferenc) Weiss. Later, when the university observatory of Tyrnavia was moved to Buda (1777), Sajnovics followed Weiss there. Sajnovics survived Weiss by only half a year, and died in 1785. His only scientific publication was a rather unambitious textbook of astronomy, the *Idea Astronomiae* (Buda 1778).

The Prehistory of Finno-Ugrian Linguistics

Finno-Ugrian language studies is by now a long-established academic discipline. Although the term 'Finno-Ugrian' (or Finno-Ugric) was not coined until the nineteenth century, the roots of the concept reach back into the seventeenth century.¹⁴ One of the earliest academic texts arguing for a linguistic link between several of the languages now considered Finno-Ugrian was written by Martin Fogel(ius) of Hamburg, *De lingua indole Finica observationes* (1669).

12 J. Sajnovics, *Demonstratio: Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* ([Hafniae] [1770]); id., "Beviis, at Ungarernes og Lappernes Sprog er det samme," *Skrifter som udi det Kiøbenhavnske Selskab af Lærdoms og Videnskabers Elskere ere fremlagte og oplæste* 10 (1770), 653–732; id., *Demonstratio: Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* ([Tyrnaviae] [1771]). The year of publication is missing on the title page of both Latin editions. For a source-based discussion of the two versions and their relation to each other, see Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, 117–132.

13 Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, 168.

14 For a standard narrative of the early modern roots of Finno-Ugrian linguistics, see G. J. Stipa, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachforschung: Von der Renaissance bis zum Neupositivismus* (Helsinki 1990).

More seminal were probably the arguments that Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and his collaborator, Johann Georg von Eckhart, put forward in the early eighteenth century. Leibniz argued for a large-scale collection of samples from various vernaculars, not least in Russia. In this context, he pointed to a supposed connection between Saami, Finnish, Hungarian and several indigenous languages found in the Russian realm.¹⁵ Collection of linguistic data from Russia did not begin in earnest until the 1720s, nevertheless. Several expeditions were then dispatched to chart the Russian Empire, with linguistic studies forming part of the research programmes. A German-speaking Swedish general who had been taken captive and sent to Siberia, Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg, took part in one of the earliest expeditions. Having been released, he published a sensational book on the northern and eastern parts of Russia (1730).¹⁶ In his book, Strahlenberg included a table with words from what he defined as “the Tatarian and Hunno-Scythian ancestral peoples.” All the languages he included in the table are now considered part of the Uralic language family, of which the Finno-Ugrian group (or, as he called it, the “Hun nation”) constitutes the largest branch. *Mutatis mutandis*, Strahlenberg perceived the linguistic links between the entire group of Finno-Ugrian peoples, with members from Siberia (Mansi, Khanty) via north-west Russia (Komi, Mari, Mordvin, etc.) and the Baltics (Estonian, Livonian) to Central Europe (Magyar) and Fennoscandinavia (Saami, Finnish, Karelian).¹⁷ Further contributions in the decades following Strahlenberg added more empirical evidence and presented new theories on

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- 15 G. G. Leibniz, “Brevis designatio meditationum de Originibus Gentium, ductis potissimum ex indicio linguarum,” *Miscellanea Berolinensia ad Incrementum Scientiarum, ex Scriptis Societati Regiae Scientiarum exhibitis edita* 1 (1710), 1–16, cf. Stipa, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachforschung*, 155–164; H. Arens, *Sprachwissenschaft: Der Gang ihrer Entwicklung von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Munich 1969), 94–104.
- 16 P. J. von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord- und Ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia, In so weit solches Das gantze Rußische Reich mit Siberien und der grossen Tatarey in sich begreiffet, In einer Historisch-Geographischen Beschreibung der alten und neuern Zeiten, und vielen andern unbekanntten Nachrichten vorgestellt, Nebst einer noch niemahls ans Licht gegebenen Tabula Polyglotta von zwey und dreyßigerley Arten Tatarischer Völcker Sprachen und einem Kalmuckischen Vocabulario, Sonderlich aber Einer grossen richtigen Land-Charte von den benannten Ländern und andern verschiedenen Kupfferstichen, so die Asiatisch-Scythische Antiquität betreffen; Bey Gelegenheit der Schwedischen Kriegs-Gefangenschaft in Rußland, aus eigener sorgfältigen Erkundigung, auf denen verstatteten weiten Reisen zusammen gebracht und ausgefertiget* (Stockholm 1730).
- 17 It might be added that modern archival studies have revealed that his book was not published in compliance with intellectual property rights, as the entire book relied heavily on materials collected by another participant of the same expedition, Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt. See Stipa, *Finnisch-ugrische Sprachforschung*, 173–179.

the ethnic origins of the Magyars. Some of the most comprehensive works were by Johann Eberhard Fischer and August Ludwig Schlözer, both German historians who had spent years working at the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Their main works on Finno-Ugrian subject matters were published in the same period as Sajnovics's *Demonstratio*.¹⁸

It is important to note, however, that for all the evidence-based theories that were put forward, a perceived linguistic—and hence ethnic—kinship between the Magyars and other nations of the Finno-Ugrian family was by no means unanimously accepted in eighteenth-century Europe. For one thing, to borrow terms from Kristian Nilsson's recent PhD thesis, both *Biblical* and *literary ethnohistory* co-existed alongside more linguistically oriented modes of ethnohistorical inquiry. Biblical and literary ethnohistories would find evidence in the Bible or other authoritative texts, usually from Greco-Roman antiquity or the Middle Ages, whereas *linguistic ethnohistory* would search for origins and kinships between different ethnic groups by means of arguments taken from a (methodologically more or less sound) comparison of languages.¹⁹ In this period of transition, before the differentiation of the humanities and social sciences into a variety of research disciplines, several types of ethnohistory were often mixed together in one work, and it was not always perceived to be self-evident that more weight was to be lent to linguistic evidence than to

18 J. E. Fischer, *Sibirische Geschichte von der Entdeckung Sibiriens bis auf die Eroberung dieses Landes durch die Russische Waffen* (Sankt Petersburg 1768); id., *Quaestiones Petropolitanae I. De origine Ungrorum. II. De origine Tatarorum. III. De diversis Sinarum imperatoris nominibus titulisque IV. De Hyperboreis*, ed. A. L. Schlözer ([Gottingae] 1770); A. L. Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte: Aus den Neuesten und Besten Nordischen Schriftstellern und nach Eigenen Untersuchungen Beschrieben, und als eine Geographische und Historische Einleitung zur Richtigern Kenntniß Aller Skandinavischen, Finnischen, Slavischen, Lettischen und Sibirischen Völker, besonders in alten und mittleren Zeiten* (Göttingen 1771).

19 For these concepts, see Kr. Nilsson, *Baltic-Finns and Scandinavians: Comparative-Historical Linguistics and the Early History of the Nordic Region*, Uggjan – Minervaserien 16 (Lund 2012). A fourth type of ethnohistory singled out by Nilsson, “lingual ethnohistory,” is difficult to differentiate from linguistic ethnohistory. If we interpret him correctly, lingual ethnohistory implies studying a single language to find evidence for pre-historical ways of living within its vocabulary (e.g. a refined and rich agricultural vocabulary would suggest a long history of farming). Linguistic ethnohistory, by contrast, is concerned with comparing two or more languages with each other in search of evidence for ethnic kinship and migrations.

other kinds of sources. What is more, even those who adhered to the methods of linguistic ethnohistory could differ substantially in their conclusions.²⁰

Three examples from the international republic of letters must suffice here. In the *Harmonia linguarum Orientis et Occidentis speciatim Hungaricae cum Hebraea* (Wittenberg 1746) of the Hungarian Joannes Gottofredus Oertelius, vigorous arguments are put forward against Leibniz, Eckhart and others, who allegedly spoiled the “great heritage of the Magyars” by linking them partly to Siberia, Scandinavia, Finland or Mordvania, and partly to a mixture of all these regions.²¹ Oertelius’ response was to link the Hungarian language—and by implication, the Hungarian nation itself—to Hebrew. This idea was not at all new,²² but it is intriguing to note that Oertelius employed a set of recognizably linguistic criteria in setting forth his argument: syntax, morphology, phonetics, etymology. At around the same time, the German-speaking Silesian Gottfried Hensel(ius) published an ambitious *Synopsis universae philologiae, in qua miranda unitas et harmonia linguarum totius orbis terrarum occulta, e literarum, syllabarum, vocumque natura et recessibus, eruitur* (Nuremberg 1741). While praising Leibniz as inspirer of his work, Hensel hardly follows his theories concerning the Finno-Ugrian languages. Thus, he implicitly describes Hungarian as belonging to what he calls the ‘Illirico-Sclavonica’ group of languages. In a map accompanying his book, most languages of Europe are

20 This remark appears necessary, since several much-quoted surveys of the history of Finno-Ugrian linguistics in our view are somewhat exaggeratory in their characterisations of the Finno-Ugrian theory as a widely acknowledged scientific “discovery” already by the mid-eighteenth century, cf. e.g. M. Korhonen, *Finno-Ugrian Language Studies in Finland 1828–1918* (Helsinki 1986), 30.

21 I. G. Oertelius, *Harmonia LL. orientis et occidentis speciatimque Hungaricae cum Hebraea*, ed. I. Hlivai (Wittenberg 1746), editor’s preface, iii–ix.

22 Comparing (nearly any) modern language with Hebrew was a topos in academic theories of linguistic kinship during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, partly because of the authority of the Bible in ethnohistorical inquiry (cf. Nilsson’s concept of Biblical ethnohistory, above), and partly because of the prestige it lent to a people to be associated with what was then widely recognised as the “oldest language of the world” (cf. Arens, *Sprachwissenschaft*, 69–70). As regards the Hungarian language’s alleged link to Hebrew, following Melanchthon and other German Protestant scholars, it became quite widespread among fellow Hungarian Protestants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See G. Tóth, “‘Civilizált’ őstörténet. A magyar nyelv és a magyar nemzet eredetének kutatása Bél Mátyás életművében” [“Civilised” ancient history. The search for the origins of the Hungarian language and the Hungarian nation in the oeuvre of Mátyás Bél], *Történelmi Szemle* 54, no. 2 (2012), 219–246. See also Z. Vladár, “Sajnovics’ *Demonstratio* and Gyarmathi’s *Affinitas*: Terminology and Methodology,” *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55 (2008), 145–181, at 147–149.

graphically presented in the form of the first sentence of the Lord's Prayer. Three groups are designated: the 'Progenies Hellenica,' the 'Celto-Theotisca' and the 'Illirico-Sclavonica' groups. But whereas the Hungarian language is explicitly included in the last-mentioned group both on the map and in the book itself, the status of Finnish and Saami is more obscure (a comment on the map, which seems to refer to both Finnish and Saami, reads 'Sclavonico-mixta').²³ In addition to Oertelius and Hensel, a work by the Danish theologian Marcus Wöldike, *Betænkning om det Grønlandske Sprogs Oprindelse og Uliighed med andre Sprog* (Reflections regarding the origin and uniqueness of the Greenlandic language as compared with other languages, 1746), is worthy of mention. Basing himself upon a dictionary and a grammar of Greenlandic (Inuit) that had been compiled by a Danish-Norwegian missionary, Wöldike concluded that Greenlandic and Hungarian had a common origin, which he believed to be located in Tartaria:

There is, then, as far as the grammar is concerned, only negligible similarity between Greenlandic and the European languages, except Hungarian, and it is quite striking and noteworthy, that exactly in those elements where the Hungarian language differs from the other European ones, is where it is in accordance with the Greenlandic language [...]. I dare not, however, based upon these facts draw the conclusion that the Hungarian and the Greenlandic languages at some stage have been one and the same, as the dissimilarities in the vocabulary between the two languages are too enormous for that. The only thing I dare maintain is that they must originate from an area or part of the world, which I suppose to be the vast Tartaria.²⁴

23 Hensel, *Synopsis universae philologiae*, map entitled "EVROPA POLYGLOTTA Linguarum Genealogiam exhibens, una cum Literis, scribendique modis, Omnium Gentium."

24 M. Wöldike, "Betænkning om det Grønlandske Sprogs Oprindelse og Uliighed med andre Sprog" [Reflections regarding the origin and uniqueness of the Greenlandic language as compared with other languages], *Skrifter som udi det Kiøbenhavnske Selskab af Lærdoms og Videnskabers Elskere ere fremlagte og oplæste 2* (1746), 129–156, at 151: "Saa findes der da i henseende til Grammaticam saare liden Overeenstemmelse imellem det Grønlandske og de Europæiske Sprog, undtagen det Hungariske, og det er gandske besynderligt og mærkeligt, at just i de Poster, hvorudi det Hungariske Sprog differerer fra de andre Europæiske, derudi kommer det overeens med det Grønlandske [...]. Men heraf tør jeg dog ingenlunde gjøre den Slutning, at det Hungariske og Grønlandske Sprog nogen-sinde har været et og det samme, saasom der er alt for stor Forskiel imellem Gloserne i begge disse Sprog, men ikkun det, at de maa være komne fra en Egn eller fra en deel i Verden, som jeg mener at skulle være det store Tartarie." For more on Wöldike's work, see

Thus, Wöldike follows neither Oertelius' assertion of a Hungarian-Hebrew connection nor Hensel's classification of Hungarian as an 'Illyric' (Slavic) language. Instead, he points to the region of Tartaria as a distant but common origin of both Greenlandic and Hungarian.

As we have seen, Oertelius (1746), Hensel (1741) and Wöldike (1746) all discussed the Hungarian language, they all employed methodologies recognizable as linguistic ethnohistory, and while in disagreement among themselves, they were also in disagreement with the Finno-Ugrian theories that had already been put forward by Fogel, Leibniz, Eckhart and Strahlenberg between the 1680s and 1730s. Such was the situation internationally when Sajnovics undertook his studies of Saami and Hungarian in far-northern Vardøhus. As for the Central European and Hungarian intellectual landscape, the *Stand der Forschung* was not merely less oriented towards linguistic ethnohistory, it was also more recognizably charged with ideological undertones characteristic of an identity discourse. Before this topic is briefly discussed, it is necessary to explore the nature of the contributions of Sajnovics and Hell.

The Demonstratio and the Expeditio

Sajnovics seems to have felt that the title of his treatise—"Demonstration that the Hungarian and Lapponian Language is the Same"—boasted a bit more than it could deliver. In the opening part of the *Demonstratio* he was quick to explain that the expression *idioma idem* implied that Hungarian and Saami were two *dialects* of the same language. In a distant past, more precisely in the fourth century, the Hungarians and the Saami had spoken the same dialect. However, since then the two groups had migrated in opposite directions and lived in total separation from each other. During the long period of separation their language had changed considerably both in Lapland and in Central Europe, so that the two dialects were no longer mutually intelligible. Sajnovics proceeds by pointing to analogous examples: Italian, Spanish and French are all dialects of Latin, whereas Danish, Dutch—and English—are dialects of German, just as Russian, Polish and Bohemian are dialects of the so-called Illyric language. Hungarian and Saami are thus only dialects of an older, lost language that he calls the *Lingua Fennica*.²⁵ That is about as much as the first

G. Lakó, "Von der Frage nach Beziehungen der Eskimosprache zum Ungarischen bis zur Erschliessung der Ungarisch-Lappischen Sprachverwandtschaft," *Fenno-Ugrica Suecana* 2 (1979), 75–84.

25 Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 1st ed., [1]-4.

edition of the *Demonstratio* contains concerning the historical background for the linguistic connection between Hungarian and Saami. The rest of the text is concerned with a systematically built argument which has been described as permeated by an astonishingly sound and innovative methodology that foreshadows later developments within a discipline now known as comparative linguistics.²⁶ Sajnovics himself, while admitting that others had presented similar theories, argued in the final chapter of his treatise that he “could not claim the honour of having made the discovery, but perhaps rather that of certifying and demonstrating it.”²⁷

Sajnovics quickly received considerable prestige in the German and Nordic parts of Europe. Thus, the above-mentioned Göttingen historian A. L. Schlözer reviewed Sajnovics’s *Demonstratio* positively in his *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* (1771), and two leading historian/linguists in Åbo (Turku) and Uppsala respectively, Henrik Gabriel Porthan and Johannes (Johan) Ihre, embraced his achievement in publications from 1771–72.²⁸ However, apart from the compelling display of linguistic methodology, there were other aspects of the *Demonstratio* that soon proved problematic, even in a Nordic context. Sajnovics argued, without success, that the Saami orthography, which had been developed by a senior Norwegian priest named Leem,²⁹ should be

26 E.g. Gy. Décsy and W. Veenker’s “Nachwort” to the German translation of the *Demonstratio*: J. Sajnovics, *Beweis, daß die Sprache der Ungarn und Lappen dieselbe ist* (Wiesbaden 1972), 159–163. A more cautious assessment in Vladár, “Sajnovics’ *Demonstratio*.”

27 Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 1st ed., 73–74 (repeated in 2nd ed., 111): “Idioma Ungaricum cum Fennico, atque Lapponico convenire etsi non demonstrent [scil. opuscula aliorum], ita tamen luculenter asserunt, ut hac in re novae Inventionis laudem mihi arrogare non possum, licet forte possem certitudinis, atque Demonstrationis.”

28 Schlözer, *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte*, 306–307; H. G. Porthan, *Tidningar Utgifne Af et Sällskap i Åbo* 1 (1771), 3–8, 61–62, 138–141, 148–150, 180–181, 186–188; J. Ihre (praeses) and E. J. Öhrling (respondens), *Dissertatio Academica de Convenientia Linguae Hungaricae cum Lapponica* ([Upsaliae] 1772).

29 Knud Leem (1697–1774) had served as a missionary in Finnmark, the northernmost county of Norway in the 1720s and 1730s. Based on materials that he assembled as a missionary, he produced a Saami grammar (*En Lappisk Grammatica: Efter den Dialect, som bruges af Field-Lapperne udi Porsanger-Fiorden* [Kjøbenhavn 1748]) and a Danish-Saami vocabulary (*En Lappesk Nomenclator efter Den Dialect, som bruges af Fjeld-Lapperne i Porsanger-Fjorden* [Tronhiem 1756]), followed by a richly illustrated, bilingual ethnographic description of the Saami (*Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Lapper, deres Tungemaal, Levemaade og forrige Afgudsdyrkelse / De Lapponibus Finmarchiae, eorumque lingua, vita et religione pristina commentatio* [Kjøbenhavn 1767]) and a Saami-Danish-Latin and Danish-Latin-Saami dictionary (*Lexicon Lapponicum bipartitum: Lapponico-Danico-Latinum et Danico-Latin-Lapponicum* [Nidrosiae 1768–1780]). From 1752 to his death, Leem served as a *professor linguae Lapponicae* at a special seminar in Trondheim with the

replaced by the Hungarian system of spelling. His argument was quite straightforward: since Hungarian and Saami are really just two forms of the same language, one should use the same orthography.³⁰ While in Copenhagen in the winter of 1769/70, Hell and Sajnovics managed to gain the support of the minister Otto Thott for this idea. Upon Thott's orders, one of the very few native Saami priests with university exams in Denmark-Norway, Anders Porsanger, was called from Trondheim in Norway to Copenhagen. Here Porsanger collaborated closely with Sajnovics on the project of supplanting Leem's orthography with a Hungarian version, besides giving advice that Sajnovics ultimately was to include in the second edition of his *Demonstratio*.³¹ This effort failed, primarily due to political problems in Copenhagen (Thott was removed from his offices in the autumn of 1770), but also because of resistance within Danish-Norwegian ecclesiastic circles.³² Another corollary of the discovery of the so-called identity of Hungarian and Saami was that the two languages ought to exploit each other's lexicons to enrich their vocabulary. So, instead of importing loan words from Latin, Italian and German, Sajnovics argued that the Hungarians should look for truly Hungarian words in the vocabulary of its 'sister nation' in the Far North.³³ Little came out of this, with one notable exception. It is recorded in the second edition of the *Demonstratio* that Sajnovics paid a visit to the Hungarian Jesuit poet Franciscus (Ferenc) Faludi upon his return to Hungary:

task of preparing Danish-Norwegian priests for service in Saami regions of Norway, cf. e.g. J. R. Hagland and S. Supphellen, eds., *Knud Leem og det samiske* [Knud Leem and Saami issues] (Trondheim 2003). When Hell and Sajnovics passed through Trondheim on their way back and forth to Vardøhus, they seem to have met Leem only once, and certainly did not develop any direct collaboration with him, cf. Sajnovics's manuscript travel diary covering 1768–1770 (Wiener Universitätssternwarte, Vienna, Manuscripte von Hell), entry on 7 Sept. 1769. Instead, Sajnovics collaborated closely with Leem's Saami assistant Anders Porsanger (see below).

30 Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 1st ed., 17–25 (slightly revised and expanded in 2nd ed., 25–41).

31 See Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 2nd ed., 34–38. For a source-based investigation of the relationship between Sajnovics and Porsanger, see B. Martinussen, "Anders Porsanger: teolog og språkforsker fra 1700-tallets Finnmark" [Anders Porsanger: Theologian and Linguist from 18th-century Finnmark], *Nordlyd* 18 (1992), 15–59, summarised in English in E. Hovdhaugen, F. Karlsson, C. Henriksen and B. Sigurd, *The History of Linguistics in the Nordic Countries* (Helsinki 2000), 54–55.

32 See P. P. Aspaas, "Den gang samene (nesten) ble Nord-Europas ur-ungarere: Johannes Sajnovics's *Demonstratio* (1770) og dens resepsjon" [When the Saami (almost) became the Ur-Ungarians of the European North: The *Demonstratio* of Johannes Sajnovics (1770) and its Reception] (forthcoming article).

33 Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 2nd ed., 79–83.

When I recently visited Honourable Father Faludi's in Posenium [Pressburg, Pozsony, Bratislava], and showed him my manuscripts for him to inspect, the first that his eyes fell upon was the Latin word *forma*, *exemplar*, *modulus*. The Hungarians call this by the Latin loanword *forma*, whereas the Lapps call it *mint*, and in doing so speak more Hungarian than we do, for a *modulus* would have been quite correctly called a *mint* by the Hungarians, in the sense: "just like that."³⁴

According to the editors of the German translation of Sajnovics's treatise, this is the only word that has entered Hungarian usage following Sajnovics's recommendation. The irony of the story is that the word *mint* is no more Finno-Ugrian than *forma*, but derived from the Scandinavian word *mynt*, or "coin" (compare the German word *Münze*).³⁵ However, the mention of Faludi is effectively a case of efficient name-dropping. Sajnovics employs this frequently in his treatise, partly as a token of gratitude, partly—as here—as a means to lend weight to his argument. Especially in the second edition of the *Demonstratio* there are references to a number of Hungarian contemporaries who have expressed their support. Most conspicuous is the invocation of the Empress Maria Theresa herself as protector of the investigation of 'Hungarian origins' that Hell has begun.³⁶

Whilst Sajnovics made his revision of the *Demonstratio* in Tyrnavia, Hell sat in Vienna working out a huge plan for a three-volume encyclopaedia on the Far North—the *Expeditio Litteraria ad Polum Arcticum*. In this grand folio work, he envisaged including both the report of his expedition and its various scientific results, including a *Tomus Historicus*: an ethnographic, linguistic and historical account of the region.³⁷ Sajnovics's *Demonstratio* would of course find its place therein.

Prior to Hell and Sajnovics, most Hungarian scholars as well as the social and educated elite adhered to the so-called Scythian theory, which associated

34 Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 2nd ed., 80: "Nuper dum Posenii apud R. Patrem Faludi versarer, eique mea manuscripta obiter inspicienda porrigerem, primo intuitu in vocem latinam *forma*, *exemplar*, *modulus* incidit. Ungari id vocant, a latinis mutuato vocabulo *Forma*, sed Lappones dicunt *Minta*, magis certe Ungarice quam nos, *modulus* enim ab Ungaris rectissime diceretur *Minta*, seu *sicut illud*."

35 Sajnovics, *Beweis*, 149, endnote 30 (the modern Hungarian equivalent being *mind az* or *mint a*).

36 Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 2nd ed., 126–127.

37 Early in 1771, Hell issued an invitation for subscriptions to the *Expeditio*, in which he summarised its contents. A critical edition of this text (with facing English translation and commentary) is found in Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, 361–381.

was never published in its entirety. His theory can, however, be reconstructed from various unfinished manuscripts and correspondence. An addition, which is cast as the summary of a letter from Hell and inserted into the second edition of the *Demonstratio*, gives evidence of Hell's theory as it stood in the winter of 1770/71.³⁹

In general terms, it might be said that whereas the *Demonstratio* restricted itself to proving the linguistic link between Hungarian and Saami, the *Expositio* was meant to present a theory on the historical background to this linguistic link. Where Sajnovics merely demonstrated the existence of linguistic affinity, Hell sought to explain how this affinity had come about. In doing so, Hell shifted not only from linguistic ethnohistory to literary ethnohistory (using the *Demonstratio* merely as a springboard, he soon relied on literary works such as the anonymous *Gesta Hungarorum* or Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio* as main evidence),⁴⁰ he also transgressed one of the rules that Sajnovics had so meticulously followed in the *Demonstratio*. Sajnovics argued that one should never rely on written evidence alone, but always find native speakers to pronounce each word to verify how it was actually pronounced. For in this age before the invention of the International Phonetic Alphabet, what looked like striking similarities on paper often turned out to be anything but similar when pronounced by a native speaker and *vice versa*: native

the *Samojeds* (Nenets); see Hell's letter from Vienna to G. Pray in Posenium, dated 4 Jan. 1771 (ELTE University Library, Budapest, MS G 119, no. 168b–c): "Maximo gaudio exultabam, dum intellexi R[everentiam] V[est]ram ejusdem mecum esse Sententiae de idiomate Sinensium tanquam Matre idiomatis asiatici, hoc est, Fennici, Lapponici, Ungarici etc: ex hac enim idiomatis convenientia fortissimum reperi argumentum, Lappones, Samojedas, et universim omnes populos Septentrionales Europae lingua fennica utentes olim antea, vel quater mille annos terras inhabitasse illas, quae sinensium muro ad septentrionem proximae sunt, quas sinenses *Lop.* et Tartari *samo* appellant, Lappones enim seipsos compellant *Same* aut *Samalez*, aut *Samelim* etc: id est, è Regione *Samo* prognatos."

39 Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 2nd ed., 119–126. The very summary of the "letter" was actually not only composed by Hell, but sent to Tyrnavia accompanied with very specific instructions regarding exactly where and how it was to be inserted into Sajnovics's work, cf. Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, 117–131.

40 For modern editions of these works, see *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum / Anonymus, Notary of King Béla, The Deeds of the Hungarians*, ed. and trans. by M. Rady and L. Veszprémy; *Magistri Rogerii Epistola in miserabile carmen super destructione Regni Hungariae per tartaros facta / Master Roger's Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars*, ed. and trans. by J. M. Bak and M. Rady, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest 2010); *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De administrando imperio*, ed. by G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins, Dumbarton Oaks texts 1 (Washington, D.C. 1966).

speakers sometimes pronounced words quite differently to the (often arbitrary) orthography which had been used to write them down, revealing similarities that seemed not to be there when judged from the spelling used in books.⁴¹ Discarding such scruples, Hell in his historical chapters of the projected *Expeditio* employed a variety of sources—ranging from Dutch cartography via French historical works to the above-mentioned medieval chronicles—in a search for striking similarities. Sometimes, when striking similarities were hard to come by, he would ‘translate’ ethnonyms to serve his purposes. As Hell explained in several letters to his colleague, the Hungarian Jesuit historian Georgius (György) Pray, the *Cházaroï* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the *Cumani* of the *Gesta Hungarorum* were one and the same people. He also repeatedly argued that Turkic-speaking tribes had mixed with the Magyars and become Magyarised.⁴² And when confronted with explicit literary evidence for a Scythian ancestry of the *Cumani*, he at one point exclaimed, “I do not see why *Scythia*, a word of such wide significance, cannot be applied to Finland and Karelia?”⁴³

Maximilian Hell’s grand *Expeditio* was never accomplished. Hell soon found himself absorbed in a heated controversy over the calculation of the solar distance and his own Venus transit observations’ usage therein; a commission for the possible establishment of an Austrian Academy of Sciences also took up much of his time and energy in the mid-1770s. According to his own account, the sudden dissolution of the Society of Jesus also robbed him of his assistants, forcing him to do all his astronomical tasks on his own, including the time-consuming calculations for the *Ephemerides*.⁴⁴

Sajnovics and Hell in the Whirlwind of Enlightened Reform

Ever since Hell and Sajnovics first presented their theories, the response to them has been highly ambivalent in their native environment: mainstream

41 Sajnovics, *Demonstratio*, 1st ed., 8–13 (slightly expanded and revised in 2nd ed., 14–19).

42 Hell in letters to Pray in Pressburg, esp. letters dated Vienna, 29 Mar. and 13 June 1771 (ELTE University Library, Budapest, MS G 119, no. 163 and 165).

43 Hell, in an undated comment to G. Pray’s manuscript *Observationes in Systema P. Maximiliani Hell* (ELTE University Library, Budapest, Coll. Prayana XVIII. 23): “*Scythia*, vox amplissimae significationis non video, cur Finlandiæ, et Carjeliæ applicari non possit?”

44 M. Hell, “*Observationes astronomicae latitudinum et longitudinum geographicarum*,” *Ephemerides Astronomicae ad Meridianum Vindobonensem Anni 1791* (1790), 301–304.

Hungarian scholarship has tended to embrace and improve upon them, while significant academic subcultures fed by proud ethno-national ideology have looked at them with suspicion, dismay and contempt. Here we are only concerned with the immediate contemporary context. Hell and Sajnovics were both vocal patriots of the multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary, a composite state that enjoyed historic liberties and a measure of autonomy within a still larger unit, the Habsburg monarchy. This autonomy, however, came to be contested in the very same thrust of Habsburg reforms which at first swept away the Jesuit order, the other cornerstone of Hell's and Sajnovics's identity, and a good decade later evoked protest among the Hungarian elite. These developments threw our protagonists in a vacuum. They were indisputably *Hungari*, but not recognisable as *Magyar*: their former association with a cosmopolitan and generally derided religious order and their continued association with a 'foreign' court made their allegiances look questionable; and while their dedicated interest in 'things *Magyar*' might have commended them to the leading voices of the incipient movement of national awakening, the combination of the above-mentioned factors with the substance of their findings had a fundamental effect on the way in which their epoch-making discovery was received in the late eighteenth century.

In the Habsburg Monarchy the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1773 was tied up with the efforts of the rulers and their governments towards the administrative consolidation of their territories.⁴⁵ This agenda hurt many interests. In the Hungarian provinces its pursuit provoked the nobility in a concentrated effort to entrench their ancient privileges, while some of them were to combine this reaction with a vernacular version of enlightened improvement. Simultaneously with the changing climate in Vienna vis-à-vis the Jesuits during the 1760s, the dormant conflict between the court and the Hungarian nobility burst into the open during the diet (parliament) of 1764–65, as a result of which neither Maria Theresa nor Joseph II ever convoked it again. In this atmosphere, there was an opportunity for a community of interest to rise

45 W. Müller, "Der Jesuitenorden und die Aufklärung im süddeutsch-österreichischen Raum," in *Katholische Aufklärung – Aufklärung in katholischen Deutschland*, ed. by H. Klüeting with N. Hinske and K. Hengst (Hamburg 1993), 225–245. See also H. Kröll, "Die Auswirkungen der Aufhebung des Jesuitenordens in Wien und Niederösterreich: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Josephinismus in Österreich," *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 34 (1971), 547–617; on the consequences of the suppression to the members of the order, H. Haberzettl, *Die Stellung der Exjesuiten in Politik und Kulturleben Österreichs zu Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna 1973); A. Trampus, *I gesuiti e l'illuminismo: Politica e religione in Austria e nell'Europa centrale (1773–1798)* (Florence 2000).

between the privileged elite of Hungary and the Jesuit order. Yet, in the given case the apparently innocent scholarly investigations of the *Demonstratio* became flammable ideological material, because they ran counter to the old discourse of historical origin, identity and social exclusiveness professed by the nobility and challenged by the measures urged by Vienna.⁴⁶ At the core of this discourse was, since the high Middle Ages, the idea of a prestigious steppe kinship of the Hungarians with the mighty Huns, and the proposition that the scions of the (originally) military aristocracy of these conquering ‘Scythians’ enjoy pre-eminence within the *corpus politicum*. These convictions were smoothly combined with the traditional classification of the Hungarian language as one of the ‘oriental’ languages. Questioning one pillar of this complex intellectual edifice constituted a challenge to the entire ideological frame and, especially in politically critical times, could expect an appropriate response.

While strictly academic circles tended to welcome Sajnovics’s theory in Hungary just as they did more broadly in Europe, there was one important and influential group on the public intellectual scene, among whom many realised the *political and ideological* stakes of the matter all too well, and reacted accordingly; and it was men of letters of noble origin who dominated that scene before the 1780s and included important figures of the Hungarian Enlightenment and national awakening. Together they expressed the sentiments of a sizeable elite group whose cultural and intellectual horizons, thanks to their education as members of Maria Theresa’s famous Hungarian Guards, were broadly European, but whose vision of the future restoration of the erstwhile greatness of the Hungarian nation was predicated on galvanising their own class to a new dynamism through modern letters and knowledge practices. This was a vision of improvement which, in their own view, depended on maintaining a discourse of identity built on a prestigious pedigree and social exclusiveness, both under serious attack from the mid-1760s onward by the Viennese court and government. In this atmosphere, the implications of Finno-Ugrianism—understood by them as not only linguistic but also ethnic kinship—seemed to them highly disturbing. The tone in which they repudiated the theory varied from poetic sarcasm to consternation over the supposed kinship with primitive, “fish-reeking” Lappians, expressed in the discursive

46 The following paragraphs summarise the argument advanced in Kontler, “Distances Celestial and Terrestrial,” 739–750; see also id., “Politicians, Patriots and Plotters: Unlikely Debates Occasioned by Maximilian Hell’s Venus Transit Expedition of 1769,” in *Meeting Venus: A Collection of Papers Presented at the Venus Transit Conference in Tromsø 2012*, ed. by C. Sterken and P. P. Aspaas (Brussels 2013), repr. from *The Journal of Astronomical Data* 19, no. 1 (2013), 83–93.

frame of the enlightened racism of eighteenth-century philosophical history and ethnographic othering.⁴⁷

To complicate matters still further, while the theory advanced by Sajnovics and embraced by Hell on the origin and nature of the Hungarian language met strong rejection among the Hungarian enlightened nobility, Hell soon found himself in the same camp with the detractors vis-à-vis one of Joseph II's important reform initiatives: the language decree of 26 April 1784, which ordered the replacement of German for Latin as the official language of Hungary.⁴⁸

The language decree has been described as a turning point in the relationship of Hungary and the ruler: while earlier measures concerned only partial interests or those of the politically sensitive (such as the abolition of religious orders in the one case, and the removal of the Hungarian Crown, the symbol of the country's integrity, to Vienna, in the other), this time the very crassness of the initiative triggered a new awareness of the issue of vernacular language in a much wider circle. Though the emperor made it clear that the decree

47 Ábrahám Barcsay's poetry abounds in rebuffs addressed to Sajnovics whose "yoke" was perceived by him a vital threat to ancient liberties, established on the cornerstone of the idea that Hungarians are "the valiant grandsons of Scythians." Similarly, in his "The Errors of Star-Watcher Sajnovics and Hell Being Refuted," Lőrinc Orczy casts doubt on the allegation that the progeny of Alexander the Great's brave opponents should be related to mere Lappians munching on dried fish—but recommends "the astronomer" to return to these "kind relatives" of *his*: a hint at Sajnovics's *Slavic* ethnic background. In his *Magyarországnak törvényes állása* (The legal status of Hungary), György Bessenyei wrote that "it is impossible to displace something of such a great consequence, on the basis of so little a circumstance [as language], and set it on a different footing," and suggested that "instead of words, one should consider moral character and manners" (the standard analytical categories of philosophical history). This lens shows the "Scythian" and the "Lappon" to be separated by a yawning gap, and the latter becomes the target of consistent "othering" by Bessenyei. In contrast to the people of Attila, marked by "its thirst for triumph, valour and glory, as well as its sagacity required for domination," the "Lappon" was deformed in his outward appearance as well as his manners: on top of his "ugliness of form, the Lappon is vile and fearful, it is such a subterranean mole of a Nation, which loathes the fight, and never wages war." *Bessenyei György összes művei. Próza munkák, 1802–1804* [The complete works of György Bessenyei: Prose works], ed. Gy. Kókay (Budapest 1986), 231–235. The passage is almost a literal translation from the national characters in Dom Joseph Vaissete's *Géographie historique, ecclésiastique et civile, ou description de toutes les parties du Globe terrestre* (Paris 1755). For more details, see Kontler, "Distances Celestial and Terrestrial," 744 ff.; see also id., "Politicians, Patriots and Plotters," 87 ff.

48 See H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs*, 205–211; and the introduction by Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić to this volume.

was not intended to force his subjects to abandon their mother tongue, and only required those who dealt with public affairs to exchange German for Latin, the genie was released from the bottle. While many of the responses from individual counties and municipalities across Hungary seem to have promoted Hungarian, the official position of the counties was in favour of the retention of Latin.⁴⁹ Partly, the men of learning who had formulated the responses pointed to cultural and linguistic tolerance in imperial settings from the ancient Persian king Xerxes to the Mongol conqueror Tamerlane, and partly argued that Latin was still the language of science and international communication—as it were, echoing D’Alembert’s observations in the preliminary discourse of the *Encyclopédie*, where he admitted that the use of Latin is “highly expedient in the works of *philosophes*; its clarity and precision are of great benefit to those who stand in need of a universal language.”⁵⁰

The full-scale promotion of German as represented by the language decree had, in fact, been preceded by its favouring in more confined but highly important areas, such as elementary and higher level education during the 1770s and the early 1780s. Hell was among those who did not hide their resentment. In scientific publishing, he advocated the use of Latin, or alternatively French, in case Latin was to be dropped. Other vernaculars were not “universal languages,” he argued.⁵¹ Even so, he did go with the flow to a certain extent. In 1775, several extracts from Hell’s *Ephemerides Astronomicae* were included in German translation in the *Beyträge zu verschiedenen Wissenschaften von einigen Oesterreichischen Gelehrten* (incidentally, the word “Gelehrten” here represented only ex-Jesuits); in 1777, he joined for a while the editorial board of the *Wiener Realzeitung*, which aimed to disseminate scientific news to a German-speaking audience; and towards the end of his life, he embraced the work of his former pupil, the Breslau professor Anton Jungnitz, who translated nearly all of Hell’s articles from the appendices of the *Ephemerides Astronomicae*

49 I. Soós, “II. József nyelvrendelete és a ‘hivatalos Magyarország’” [Joseph II’s language decree and “official Hungary”], in *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből*, ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 2005), 261–301.

50 “Discours préliminaire des éditeurs,” *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* Tome Premier, ed. by D. Diderot and J. le Rond d’Alembert (Paris 1751), i–xlv, at xxx. Translation taken from H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs*, 210.

51 Hell’s position as recounted in the travelogue of a Danish student who met Hell several times in the year 1778, see *Andreas Christian Hviids Europa: Udtog af en Dagbog holden i Aarene 1777–1780 paa en Reise igennem Tyskland, Italien, Frankrige og Holland* [The Europe of Andreas Christian Hviid: Extracts of a diary kept during the years 1777–1780 while travelling through Germany, Italy, France and Holland], ed. by M. Harbsmeier, C. Mechlenborg and M. Petersen (Copenhagen [2005]), 369; cf. Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, 154.

and reissued them in German in the early 1790s.⁵² This promotion of scientific works in the German vernacular stands in contrast to other statements from the ex-Jesuit. For example, in several outspoken letters to the conservative bishop Carolus (Károly) Eszterházy in Eger, Hell laments the implementation of teaching in German at the University of Vienna. Even masses at the university church were now held in German, Hell observes in a letter from 11 November 1791. As a result, young women attended, and flirted overtly with the students. This would not have taken place, Hell argued, if only the masses had been celebrated in Latin as they were in the 'good old days' when the religious and scientific life of the university was under the sway of the Jesuits.⁵³

All in all, Hell seems to have felt uneasy to have been characterised as 'German' or 'Austrian.' In 1776, two biographical lexicons were issued in Vienna: one by Alexius Horányi, *Memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum*, another, *Das gelehrte Österreich*, by Ignaz de Luca. While Hell was no doubt proud to be included in both lexicons, in a letter to his colleague in Berlin, Johann III Bernoulli, he was careful to point out that:

My Hungary (for I am myself an *Ungarus*) has a more sane attitude towards Astronomy, which is held in high esteem among the *Ungari*. Here in Vienna, a work called *Das Gelehrte Österreich*, Part I, from the letter A to the letter O, providing a survey of learned men that are now living throughout the Austrian hereditary lands and who have acquired fame through their writings, has been published. Part II, from the letter O to the letter Z, is now in press; among these prominent authors, the *Ungari* make up the largest proportion, for they count more than a hundred. This demonstrates that Hungary has flourished, and in fact still flourishes, more splendidly than the rest of the hereditary kingdoms with respect to the cultivation of all kinds of sciences. However, among foreigners Hungary's learned men have remained virtually unknown as a result of the lack of scientific correspondence.⁵⁴

52 *Beyträge zur Praktischen Astronomie, in verschiedenen Beobachtungen, Abhandlungen, Methoden aus den astronomischen Ephemeriden der Herrn Abbe' Maximilian Hell*, ed. by A. L. Jungnitz, 4 vols. (Breslau and Hirschberg, 1790–1793).

53 Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, 155.

54 Hell to J. Bernoulli in Berlin, dated Vienna 15 Feb. 1777 (Universitätsbibliothek Basel): "Ungaria tamen mea (nam ipse Ungarus Sum) Saniorem de Astronomia Sensum habet, maximoque apud Ungaros in pretio est. Prodiit hic Viennae, sub titulo: *das gelehrte Oesterreich*, Pars I. à littera A, ad, O, Virorum doctorum per Regna haereditaria austriaca Scriptis clarorum, nunc inter vivos versantium; Pars II à littera O, ad Z, sub praelo est; celebriores hos inter Scriptores, Ungari maximum efficiunt numerum, centenis enim

Father Hell was apparently anxious to stress, lest his Berlin correspondent should have any doubts, that he was a *Hungarus*—and proud of it. His clinging to an identity as *Hungarus* in the aftermath of the suppression of the Society of Jesus may seem bewildering, considering the contested and hardly welcoming reception that his studies on ‘Magyar origins’ had received in Hungary. However, in an atmosphere where his old patrons at the Viennese court had proved themselves capable of deserting their roles as protectors of both the Society of Jesus and the Latin language, Hell’s insistence on a *Hungarus* identity perhaps signalled his allegiance to a Latinate tradition that still persisted in the kingdom of his birth.

Less is known about the sentiments of the other protagonist of our story, János Sajnovics. His letters are not preserved and he certainly kept a low profile in public life after his dreams of becoming the royal astronomer of Hungary had proved unrealistic.

Conclusion

Prior to 1773, Central European Jesuits like Hell and Sajnovics had good reasons to cultivate an identity based on a complex but apparently coherent set of allegiances, of which we may single out four. Firstly, they adhered to the international republic of letters, with Latin still possessing strong positions in its communication practices. Secondly, they were loyal to the pro-Catholic Habsburg dynasty governing a composite monarchy in which Latin remained an important ingredient. Thirdly, they belonged to the Jesuit order with its commitment to the promotion of learning, and Latin learning in particular. And finally, they were part of the multi-ethnic Kingdom of Hungary with its *Hungarus*, Latinate cultural traditions. The suppression of 1773, part of an overall programme of enlightened administrative reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, signalled the breakdown of this coherence. Our protagonists, especially Hell, vigorously tried to counter this development with a strategy of amplifying the still viable elements of these allegiances, and forging new alliances. While they were kept on the payroll of the Habsburg Monarchy as university professors (Hell in Vienna and Sajnovics in Buda and Pest, where the University of Tyrnavia was moved in 1774 and 1777, respectively), they experienced a loss of ideological support from their rulers. In this situation our two

plures sunt, unde constat, Ungariam prae caeteris Regnis haereditarijs, Scientijs omnis generis excultam maxime floruisse, actuque florere, licet apud Exteros hactenus (defectu commercij litterarj) pene ignoti fuerint Viri docti Ungariae.”

ex-Jesuits appealed both to the international republic of letters, where their scholarly credentials were still strong, and to the Hungarian *patria*. Hell's publications continued to receive attention and acclaim in Europe's main review journals. In these publications Hell made a special effort to extol the excellence of science cultivated in new centres of learning in the eastern half of the monarchy in *Hungarus* contexts.⁵⁵ It might seem paradoxical that these efforts failed to receive universal acclaim from Hungarian intellectuals. However, counter to Hell's promotion of Hungarian excellence in science stood his and Sajnovics's works on Hungarian ethnohistory, in which they had discarded the proud Scythian ancestry of the Magyars and embraced the controversial Finno-Ugrian theory. In the political-ideological climate of the 1770s and 1780s, to a substantial segment of opinion-makers the claims and credentials of Hell and Sajnovics as Hungarian patriots were unacceptable, even hilarious and outrageous. As salaried state servants, Hell and fellow ex-Jesuits managed to retain safe, even respectable positions. But however much he was able to ingratiate himself with and receive some patronage from weighty magnate-prelates, his dream of refashioning Hungary as the torchbearer of Catholic learning in Habsburg Central Europe⁵⁶—with himself as its main champion—became thwarted because of the alienating effect exerted on an influential elite group by the position he and Sajnovics occupied on the issue of the Hungarian language. The hostility thus generated could not even be set off by the potentially common ground between them and Hungarian patriots vis-à-vis the imperial promotion of German against both Latin and the local vernaculars.

55 Aspaas, *Maximilianus Hell*, 151–155; Kontler, “The Uses of Knowledge.”

56 Kontler, “The Uses of Knowledge.”

PART 2

Dilemmas of Latin in Education and Media



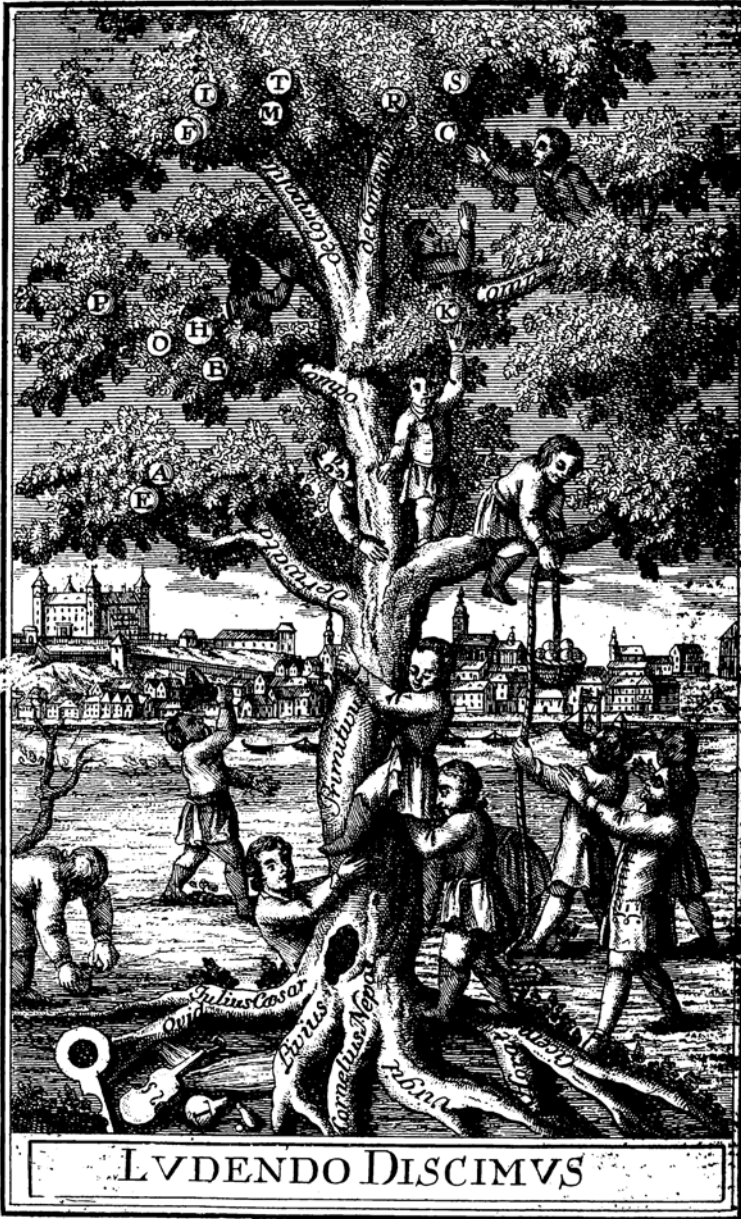


FIGURE 5.1 *Frontispice from Christophorus Cellarius, Latinitatis probatae et exercitae liber memorialis (Posonii 1777).*
COURTESY OF GOOGLE BOOKS.

The Enlightenment's Choice of Latin: The *Ratio educationis* of 1777 in the Kingdom of Hungary

Teodora Shek Brnardić

Introduction: *Ludendo discimus*

The rare copperplate engraving on the title page of the 1777 Pressburg edition of *Latinitatis probatae et exercitae liber memorialis* by the German classical scholar Christophorus Cellarius (Keller) (1634–1707)¹ can be considered a symbolic representation of the enlightened change in the method of Latin teaching, which was put into practice in the Kingdom of Hungary,² according to the state-sponsored code of education, the *Ratio educationis*,³ of that

* I would like to thank Eva Kowalská and Olga Khavanova for their insightful and important comments.

1 Cellarius's *Latinitatis probatae et exercitae liber memorialis naturali ordine dispositus* (Merseburg 1689), was initially a Latin-German thesaurus, intended for the easier memorisation of Latin words and their meanings. The words are arranged alphabetically, but derivatives are standing next to their root words. The Lutheran polyhistorian Matthias Bel (1684–1749) enriched Cellarius's original edition with Bohemian and Hungarian, so that the original bilingual thesaurus became quadrilingual in accordance with the multilingual character of the Kingdom of Hungary. The so-called Cellarius's method in learning Latin was initially widespread in the Protestant schools. J. Kornis, *Ungarische Kulturideale 1777–1848* (Leipzig 1930), 58.

2 I use this term as the equivalent for the Lands of the Crown of Saint Stephen encompassing the Kingdom of Hungary proper, the Principality of Transylvania and the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia.

3 Fully entitled as *Ratio educationis totiusque rei litterariae per regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas* [The method of education and complete instruction in Hungary and the incorporated provinces] (Vienna 1777) (hereafter: *Ratio*). The most informative survey of the history of the *Ratio* is still an older work by the Piarist G. Kornis, *A magyar művelődés eszményei 1777–1848* [The Hungarian cultural ideals, 1777–1848], 2 vols. (Budapest 1927), translated in German as *Ungarische Kulturideale 1777–1848* (Leipzig 1930). More recently, significant contributions in languages other than Hungarian are M. Csáky, "Von der Ratio Educationis zur Educatio Nationalis. Die ungarische Bildungspolitik zur Zeit der Spätaufklärung und des Frühliberalismus," *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 5 (1978), 205–238; D. Kosáry, *Les*

same year. The central image shows a bountiful apple tree, rich with apples, and on each apple a letter of the alphabet, symbolising the entries in Cellarius's Latin-German-Hungarian-Czech thesaurus. Each of the seven roots bare the names of famous Latin authors (Ovid, Julius Caesar, Livy, Cornelius Nepos, Virgil, Horace and Cicero). The trunk is made of root words, the branches from derivatives, from compound and decompound words. In the background of the central image the familiar outlines of the city of Pressburg (Bratislava/Pozsony) are discernible, then a leading centre of pedagogical innovation in the Kingdom of Hungary, on the banks of the Danube River, with the castle and coronation church, St Martin's Cathedral. Fourteen boys are assembled around the apple tree, doing what boys of that time would do; some are climbing up the tree, some are picking apples and some are sliding down the basket filled with apples. In short, they are playing and simultaneously harvesting the fruits of the tree. Likewise, they are memorising different forms of words without any effort in the 'natural order,' that is, from simple to more complex words, during the activities most characteristic for children—playing. *Ludendo discimus* ("while playing, we learn") was the iconographic motto of this new pedagogical optimism, which strove "to transform boredom into the light of enjoyment."⁴

The importance of observing the pupils' natural abilities in the process of learning Latin was successfully translated in the above-mentioned *Ratio educationis*, the analysis of which is the focus of this chapter. From the viewpoint of cultural history, however, the demonstrated pedagogical innovation is not the most interesting feature of the *Ratio*. Rather, it is its treatment of the Latin language. After the Jesuits' suppression in 1773, which left the school system as a blank slate, this comprehensive state code regulated the educational system for the whole Kingdom of Hungary and its annexed provinces, and in this system Latin continued to play an important role. In contrast to the European enlighteners' attacks, which were directed against Latin in favour of the mother tongue as the overall language of instruction, the authors of the *Ratio* saved the primacy of Latin as the chief medium of knowledge transfer in the secondary

réformes scolaires de l'absolutisme éclairé en Hongrie entre 1765 et 1790 (Budapest 1980); and the shortened version of the same work, *Culture and Society in Eighteenth-Century Hungary* (Budapest 1987), 95–106, 110–112 and 119–124. On the Theresian school reform in the Kingdom of Hungary see E. Fináczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás története Mária Terézia korában* [The history of Hungarian public education during the era of Maria Theresa], 2 vols. (Budapest 1899–1902). The *Ratio* is translated into Hungarian and Slovak.

4 [C. Lancelot], *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre facilement la langue latine*, 8th ed. (Paris 1681), 23. Quoted in R. N. Coe, "The Idea of 'Natural Order' in French Education, 1600–1760," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 5 (1957), 144–158, at 147.

schools as well as at the university level. What were the political and cultural reasons for this isolated phenomenon? How was the preservation of Latin justified in the *Ratio* and how was it treated? Were the Hungarians going against the Enlightenment current, or did they manage to adapt the Enlightenment principles to their local situation at the periphery of Europe? How was the Enlightenment manifested in the Latin curriculum?

In this chapter, I will argue that the preservation of Latin did not necessarily mean 'backwardness' or a rupture with the mainstream of Enlightenment thinking. Thereby the Enlightenment should be understood in the sense coined by the Italian historian Franco Venturi who identified this intellectual movement as a combination of both *patriotic* and *cosmopolitan* characteristics.⁵ 'Patriotic' meant the local or civic commitment to the improvement of society, whereas 'cosmopolitan' implied the intellectual receptiveness to new ideas. Patriotism in the *Ratio* was reflected in the endeavour to create good and useful citizens and to provide education for the whole nation in accordance with the pupil's social status. On the other hand, the cosmopolitan openness was detectable in the choice of new subjects, whose accent became practicality and contemporariness.⁶ In a similar vein, one can attribute the change of Latin teaching objectives and methods to this cosmopolitan intellectual openness. The focus in the *Ratio*—whose very title implied 'method'⁷ as a focal point—was obviously a shift from gaining knowledge of Latin to Latin as a means of gaining real knowledge, which ceased to be necessarily ancient.⁸

5 F. Venturi, *Italy and the Enlightenment: Studies in Cosmopolitan Century*, trans. Susan Corsi (New York 1972), 18–19.

6 E.g. Biblical and Hungarian history and geography, geography of the Hereditary Provinces, the Greek language, geometry and natural law. *Ratio*, 193–224.

7 By following Cicero, early humanists exhibited distaste for Latinised Greek words such as *methodus*. This is why in the treatises on educational method its equivalents like *via*, *ratio*, *ordo* and *modus* were much more widespread indicating a method or manner of investigating education and its sub-disciplines. N. W. Gilbert, *Renaissance Concepts of Method*, 2nd ed. (New York 1963), 60 and 69.

8 The systematic research on the social and cultural history of the Latin language in the early modern period is still in its infancy. The most recent treatment of this topic in the Hungarian context is a lucid contribution by R. J. W. Evans, "The Politics of Language and the Languages of Politics: Latin and the Vernaculars in Eighteenth-century Hungary," in *Cultures of Power during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Scott and B. Simms (Cambridge 2007), 200–224. Evans gives credit to the older, but very informative D. Rapant, *K počiatkom maďarizácie. Diel prvý. Vývoj rečovej otázky v Uhorsku v rokoch 1740–1790* [The beginnings of Magyarisation. Part one. The language question in Hungary, 1740–1790] (Bratislava 1927). I. Gy. Tóth also tackled the issue of Latin proficiency among Hungarians in his *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe* (Budapest 2000), esp. 130–145. More broadly, the cultural historian

Early Modern Educational Realism and the Issue of Latin

The endeavour to divest the Latin language of its privileged status at the centre of contemporary educational efforts was on the agenda of many an eighteenth-century social reformer throughout Europe. It was not 'rebellion' against the language itself, but against Christian humanist education focused primarily on promoting classical literary culture through the medium of Latin. Despite the rise of vernaculars in the fifteenth and sixteenth century all over Europe, Latin kept its status and function as the official language of liturgy and of the Holy Scripture⁹ in the Catholic world. Moreover, it continued occupying the central place in Catholic education, which was almost completely regulated by the Catholic Church. This was attainable thanks to the engagement of the newly-established religious orders committed to the implementation of the basic tenets of the Council of Trent, among which education with evangelising aspirations occupied a prominent place. The newly established Society of Jesus surpassed other religious orders with their dense network of colleges throughout the world, and their educational system was principally reserved for the elite. For this reason the schooling experience of both their lay and clerical students was universal and dogmatically unified.

The criticism of the objective and methodology of the humanist Latin curriculum exemplified by the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* started to rise gradually during the seventeenth century, especially in the German Lutheran milieu.¹⁰

P. Burke is the first who has advanced a socio-linguistic approach in the treatment of the history of Latin, focusing on its uses in different linguistic domains. See P. Burke, "Heu domine, adsunt Turcae: A Sketch for a Social History of Post-medieval Latin," in *Language, Self, and Society: A Social History of Language*, ed. by P. Burke and R. Porter (Cambridge 1991), 23–50; and Burke, "Latin: A Language in Search of a Community," in *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2004), 43–60. French historiographers also undertook the history of the Latin language and its interaction with other vernaculars. For Hungary see an older but still relevant work by the historian of the Habsburg Monarchy, J. Bérenger, "Latin et langues vernaculaires dans la Hongrie du XVII^e siècle," *Revue historique* 93 (1969), 5–28. For a comprehensive social history of Latin in early modern Europe see F. Waquet, *Le latin ou l'empire d'un signe xv^e–xx^e siècle* (Paris 1998), transl. in English as *Latin, Or, The Empire of a Sign: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries* (London 2001).

9 The magisterial authority of the Vulgate, that is the fourth-century Latin translation of the Bible, was confirmed at the Council of Trent. This is why Latin received the status of a sacred language next to Hebrew and Greek.

10 É. Durkheim, *L'Évolution pédagogique en France* (Cours pour les candidats à l'Agrégation prononcé en 1904–1905), 2: 85, electronic ed. available at http://classiques.uqac.ca/classiques/Durkheim_emile/evolution_ped_france/evolution_ped_france.html, accessed on 3 July 2013.

The central argument of this criticism was the alleged irreconcilability of ancient knowledge with contemporary life. Although humanist teachers were in fact seeking to relate the Latin curriculum with real life in contrast to medieval pedagogical verbalism (*res non verba*—‘things,¹¹ not words’ was a standard humanist commonplace) by teaching students how to write and speak as morally thinking adults in the real world, the examples were primarily driven from the ancient world.¹² In contrast, a new pedagogy of realism, born with John Amos Comenius (1592–1670), enabled the foundation of the so-called school of real things (*Realschule*), where practical subjects such as geography, botany and natural history rather than grammar and rhetoric were brought to forefront.¹³ In this conception, Latin ceased to be the ultimate end of education: the main criterion for its teaching (or any other language) became Latin’s *usefulness*, either for practical matters or for scientific culture.

Critical thinking grounded on educational realism was slowly emerging in the Catholic countries as well. Abbé Claude Fleury (1640–1723), the French church historian and historian of education, divided existing studies into the ‘necessary’ and ‘useful’ in his enormously popular *Traité du choix et de la méthode des études* (1687).¹⁴ He dethroned the classical languages as starting points for the study of other disciplines and made his selection of necessary and useful studies by following the criteria of real life conditions and future vocational goals of young men. The culmination of this utilitarian approach occurred in France in the 1760s, that is, after the suppression of the Society of Jesus. The French Jansenist jurist Louis-René de Caradeuc de La Chalotais (1701–1785) openly complained in his famous essay, which next to Rousseau’s *Émile* was among the best remembered in these years, “can the knowledge acquired at the [Jesuit] colleges be called ‘knowledge’ at all? [...] Does one

11 By ‘things’ humanist Leonardo Bruni meant “the moral facts and principles that should govern men’s lives.” It also meant practical experience in the real world, which could have been acquired via knowledge of history. P. F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore 1991), 230.

12 Ibid., 229–230.

13 Duke Ernst the Pious of Saxony-Gotha was the first German ruler, who under the influence of Comenius, introduced the so-called *Realien* into elementary schools in 1642. J. Van Horn Melton, *Absolutism and the Eighteenth-Century Origins of Compulsory Schooling in Prussia and Austria* (Cambridge 1988), 31.

14 ‘Necessary’ studies were grammar, arithmetic, economics and jurisprudence, whereas languages, history and geometry were categorised as ‘useful.’ Latin was put in the second group (“Or quoi que le latin ne soit pas nécessaire, il est très utile pour la religion, pour les affaires, et pour les études [...]”). C. Fleury, *Traité du choix et de la méthode des études* (Paris 1687), 209. Both Kornis and Rapant argue for the great influence *Traité* had on the content of the *Ratio*. Kornis, *Ungarische Kulturideale*, 7–8; and Rapant, *K počiatkom*, 487.

know that the only thing to be studied there are the languages, which are only the instruments for paving a way in the sciences?"¹⁵ After the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1762, he called for a state controlled educational system, ardently emphasising the futility of the Jesuit education, which only crammed useless knowledge into pupils' heads during ten years of studies. Unlike the Jesuits, La Chalotais insisted on giving priority to the neglected mother tongue and on introducing 'useful' sciences, which would prepare pupils for real life.

Approximately at the same time, the Zagreb canon and historian Baltazar Adam Krčelić (1715–1778) similarly described the situation in his own fatherland: "Those who left schools knew nothing except how to speak Latin!"¹⁶ His calls for qualitative reforms of the Jesuit college system coincided to a large extent with La Chalotais's attitudes, which belonged to a common body of the contemporary anti-Jesuit arguments: the mediocrity of the humanist education focused merely on learning the Latin language; the abstract character of philosophy reduced to 'scholastic subtleties' and 'words' instead of 'things'; indifference towards morality, which was at the time regarded as one of the most important sciences; the inadequate treatment of religion reduced only to external devotional practices.¹⁷ Similar arguments had been used in debates all around Europe for a long time.

The Necessity of Latin in the Hungarian Multilingual Context

Nevertheless, La Chalotais's and Krčelić's fatherlands differed from each other to a high degree. One of the principal reasons why the Kingdom of Hungary kept Latin in use for so long was its multilingual character, which was not a peculiarity in the early modern world. The change towards the usage of one

15 L.-R. de C. de La Chalotais, *Essai d'éducation nationale ou Plan d'études pour la jeunesse* (n.p. 1763), 11. R. R. Palmer, *The Improvement of Humanity: Education and the French Revolution* (Princeton 1985), 53.

16 B. A. Krčelić, *Annae 1748–1767*. [Yearbooks 1748–1767], ed. by T. Smičiklas (Zagreb 1901–1902), 116. A digital ed. s.v. "Annus Domini 1753: Scholarum reformatio ad speciem," available at www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/navigate.pl?croala.340, accessed on 24 June 2013. Krčelić writes his memoirs backwards in ca. 1764, so that the timing of his criticism coincides with La Chalotais's.

17 R. Grandroute, "La fortune de l'article Collège dans le discours pédagogique (1753–1789)," *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* 5 (1988), 55–71, at 57. For Krčelić's criticism see T. Shek Brnardić, *Svijet Baltazara Adama Krčelića. Obrazovanje na razmeđu tridentskoga katolicizma i katoličkoga prosvjetiteljstva* [The world of Baltazar Adam Krčelić. Education between Tridentine Catholicism and the Catholic Enlightenment] (Zagreb 2009), 32–33.

language occurred in the seventeenth-century with the rise of the powerful monolingual nation-states headed by France. They were advancing the ideology of homogeneity, i.e. linguistic uniformity, and the people not only in France, but also elsewhere were encouraged to begin looking at their monolingualism as an anthropological constant. This tendency reached its high point during the French Revolution, where the revolutionaries entertained the thought of forcefully imposing French as the only official language on all the citizens of France (meaning that all other dialects should be banned from school, administration and government).

To be sure, such aspirations had resonance all around Europe, not only in the west but also in the eastern peripheries. In these areas the homogenisation of languages was not as easily viable as in the western half due to the singular historical traditions and circumstances. Moreover, in the framework of the local national cultures such as Hungarian, *multilingualism* was held in high regard in the time of the publication of the *Ratio*, and even after that: "If someone considers the variety of nations, and equally, of languages in Hungary, it immediately comes to the mind, how *useful* a Hungarian can be to the fatherland, if he is gifted with the knowledge of *several* languages [*italics mine*]."18

The composite early modern Habsburg Monarchy, whose loose political structure the Austrian historian Otto Brunner aptly labelled as "the monarchical union of the states through the estates" was, therefore, a particular case in point.¹⁹ Such a designation implied that each of the realm's territories possessed an estates-based constitution, its *libertates nobiles*, and the person of the ruler was the only element that guaranteed the state coherence. This division was very marked in the Kingdom of Hungary: the diarchy between the king and the estates was legally founded in the medieval theory of Saint Stephen's Crown, in the Golden Bull of 1222, which established the rights of the Hungarian nobility and constitutionally limited the royal power of the monarch (among the first in Europe), and in István Werbőczy's *Tripartitum opus iuris consuetudinarii inclyti Regni Hungariae* (1514).²⁰ The reference to the ancient constitution as a set of corporate privileges and cardinal liberties of *natio* (or *populus*) *Hungarica*

18 *Ratio*, 149. See also S. Gal, "Polyglot Nationalism: Alternative Perspectives on Language in 19th Century Hungary," *Langage et société* 136 (2011), 31–54; and Bérenger, "Latin," *passim*.

19 "Die Monarchie erweist sich als eine monarchische Union ihrer Königreiche und Länder, die jede für sich Ständestaaten waren." O. Brunner, "Das Haus Österreich und die Donaumonarchie," *Südostforschungen* 14 (1955), 122–144.

20 On the Hungarian concept of ancient constitution see L. Kontler and B. Trencsényi, "Hungary," in *European Political Thought 1450–1700: Religion, Law and Philosophy*, ed. by G. Burgess, S. Hodson and H. Lloyd (New Haven 2007), 179.

survived in the Hungarian public discourse well into the nineteenth century.²¹ One of the hallmarks of the *Hungari*-styled *Libertaskultur* was the adherence to the Latin language—a warrant of the political freedom—in which all public documents were written and which acted as the language of judicial system, administration and education. Symbolically, the enforcement of any other language would mean the loss of this freedom. For most of members of the *natio Hungarica* loyalty to the Latin language represented loyalty to the ancient constitution. The active knowledge of Latin, that is, its spoken and written *fluency*, was a constituent part of the corporate political culture.

As said previously, the learning of Latin in the oral and written form continued to be important in the Kingdom of Hungary even in the first half of the nineteenth century. This did not mean the neglect of vernacular languages. On Hungarian soil the *Ratio* singles out seven nations, which differed in language, namely, “Hungarians proper, Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Ruthenians, Illyrians²² and Romanians, who all make use of their own languages, and are much at variance with each other.”²³ Their languages were called either “vernaculars” (*linguae vernaculae*)²⁴ or “languages of the fatherland” (*linguae patriae*).²⁵ Multilingualism in this way became a hallmark of the Kingdom of Hungary distinguished by variety of nations, denominations and social classes,²⁶ where no living language had supremacy over others. Nevertheless, German stood out and its learning was recommended on the ground of its usefulness. Despite this predilection, Latin remained in the foreground due to its universalist dimensions and service as a bridge language, which since the Middle Ages bound up the linguistically variegated kingdom. Due to its supranational characteristics, it could not arouse jealousy among nations.

The Slovak travel writer and ethnographer János (Ján) Csaplovics (1780–1847) stressed the integrative function of Latin as late as in 1829, by calling it

21 On the legal aspects of the Hungarian political culture see O. V. Khavanova, *Nacija, otechestvo, patriotizm v vengerskoj kul'ture: dvizhenie 1790 goda* [Nation, homeland, patriotism in Hungarian political culture: the movement of 1790] (Moscow 2000), passim.

22 ‘Illyrian’ was the name for the Croatian Štokavian dialect shared with the Serbs and spoken mainly in the Kingdom of Slavonia, whereas Croatian was the Kajkavian dialect spoken in the Kingdom of Croatia.

23 *Ratio*, 7.

24 *Ibid.*, 149.

25 The *Ratio* recommends the learning of ‘German or some other language of the fatherland’ (*Germanica vel alia patria lingua*) in the schedule of classes at the end of the booklet. D. Rapant confirms this status of the German language, *K počiatkom*, 118. The opposite of the ‘languages of the fatherland,’ spoken in the Kingdom of Hungary, were ‘foreign languages’ (*linguae peregrinae*) or languages not specific to a territory.

26 *Ratio*, 6–9.

“a general bonding language,” which is in Hungary in constant use and which serves as “a vehicle of sciences” and a business language to all ethnic communities. In his words, it was only after 1791 when Latin’s ‘sovereign status’ was shaken on behalf of the Hungarian language, and especially after 1805 when Hungarian-speaking counties started to write official judicial and administrative records in their native language.²⁷ This ‘constitutional’ status of a dead language had but one visible implication, which made Hungary a cultural ‘island’ in the Enlightenment Europe: in this country, aptly called by R. J. W. Evans as the “last linguistic ancient regime,”²⁸ Latin was still counted as a *living* language as late as in the eighteenth century. “The Latin language lives [...] it has been living with us for almost eight centuries in the mouth and in everyday use; it lives in laws; it lives in public and private records; finally it lives in public and private affairs,” the representatives of Szatmár County tried to reassure Joseph II in their grievances after the turbulent introduction of German as the official language in Hungary in 1784.²⁹

As for the *Ratio*, the indispensability of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary was overall strongly emphasised, but it is particularly underlined in the observations about the Latin or grammar schools in the passage called *De necessitate linguae Latinae pro variis ditionum Hungaricarum incolis* [On the necessity of the Latin language for the various inhabitants of Hungarian territories] (§. CI). In this section the argumentation on the necessity of Latin won the first place: it is necessary because it is the language of Hungarian laws, it is a language of communication between the Viennese and Hungarian institutions, it is the official language of the Hungarian court and parliament, and finally “the use of this language has already become in a certain manner native and domestic, and with its aid so many different nations can easier understand each other, and communicate between themselves.”³⁰ In the Kingdom of Hungary, the ignorance of Latin was considered as the surest sign of neglected education.³¹

The Nationalisation of Public Education in the 1760s

As we have seen in the previous paragraphs, the idea of national, i.e. state-sponsored, education was initially associated with the cultivation of one

27 J. Csaplovics, *Gemälde von Ungarn*, 2 vols. (Pest 1829), 1: 218–219.

28 Evans, “The Politics,” 200.

29 S. Katona, *Historia critica regum Hungariae stirpis Austriacae*, tomulus XXI, ordine XL (Buda 1810), 390.

30 *Ratio*, 147.

31 *Ibid.*, 146.

mother tongue, that is, with monolingualism. It has been mentioned that La Chalotais in his *Essai d'éducation nationale* was the first among the French politicians to have advocated the 'nationalisation'³² of the educational system with the focus on patriotism and developing political virtue under the sponsorship of the state. The educational ideal of public or state education, which La Chalotais labelled as 'national education,' was primarily the upbringing of useful and upright citizens.³³

However, the effective nationalisation of public education proved to be enforceable in a modified form in the *multilingual* composite states such as the Habsburg Monarchy, as well. There La Chalotais's ideas were disseminated primarily through the publicising and educational activities of the camera-list professor Joseph von Sonnenfels (1732–1817) in the 1760s. The concept of 'national education' was literally put in effect during the reforming activities of the early 1770s, that is, after the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773. The first paragraph of *Entwurf zur Einrichtung der Gymnasien in k. k. Erblanden* (Vienna 1775)—the equivalent of the *Ratio* in the Hereditary Lands with regard to the secondary school system—explicitly emphasises the jurisdiction of the monarch in the field of national education (*National Erziehung*) (§ 1. *Sorge der Monarchen für die National Erziehung*):

Our magnanimous monarch has since time immemorial organised with paternal solicitude for the subordinated nations a complete national education as an important part of legislation, and the general benefaction has always been expanded conforming to times and needs, or new precautions have been added, so that through them a great purpose may be achieved [which is] to prepare able members for all the ranks and orders of a civil society.³⁴

32 At the time, when the concept of 'nation' was not yet crystallised, the term 'nationalisation' had several meanings. When it comes to education, it signified its democratisation and uniformisation as well as the making of schooling more socially useful. Palmer, *The Improvement*, 37.

33 More on this whole debate in the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy see T. Shek Brnardić, "Die Verbesserung der adeligen Privaterziehung in Prag: patriotische Vorschläge des Grafen Franz Joseph Kinsky (1739–1805)," in *Adel im 'langen' 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. by G. Haug-Moritz, H. P. Hye and M. Raffler (Vienna 2009), 63–64; R. Meister, "Die Idee einer österreichischen Nationalerziehung unter Maria Theresia," *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 1(1946), 1–16; Melton, *Absolutism*, 205–206.

34 *Entwurf zur Einrichtung der Gymnasien in k. k. Erblanden* (Vienna 1775), §. 1., in *Das oesterreichische Gymnasium im Zeitalter Maria Theresias*, ed. by K. Wotke (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vol. 30) (Berlin 1905), 97.

This nationalisation of education did not mean the imposition of linguistic uniformity, especially not in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy for the already mentioned reasons. Indeed, by allowing each linguistic group to establish their own vernacular schools with the instruction in their native language, the *Ratio* implicitly advanced *ethnic pluralism*,³⁵ that is, the equal treatment of vernaculars, and thus remained faithful to Hungary's centennial constitutional multilingualism. Besides, all vernaculars were supposed to be used not only in elementary schooling, but also at the secondary level, especially through the practice of translation and composition of 'themes,' as we shall see.³⁶ Furthermore, at the royal academies some vernaculars were required to be further refined: the *Ratio* recommends the establishment of literary societies at each of the royal academies, which would cultivate Latin-German, Hungarian-Slovak, Hungarian-Slovak-German, and finally the Croatian language depending on the region.³⁷ There the native speaking professors would meet each week in order to practice the language, which a particular society chose to polish and to try to achieve a "certain degree of perfection."³⁸ At this time, uniformity tackled only teaching methods, curricula and textbooks, and the need for uniformity of this kind was the actual motivation for drafting the *Ratio*.

The post-Seven Years' War era in the Habsburg Monarchy has been characterised as "a crisis of the gymnasial system,"³⁹ that is, the need for uniformity referred specifically to the existing gymnasial or college system. Its reforms were placed on the agenda after the reorganisation of the University of Vienna

35 Melton, *Absolutism*, 226.

36 'Theme' is a Latin speech on some saying, e.g. *Omnia vincit amor* [Love conquers all] or *Non licet in bello bis peccare* [It is not permitted to blunder twice in war]. John Locke and the *philosophe* D'Alembert strongly opposed composing in Latin, as a waste of time, since Latin is a dead language, which one needs only to understand and not to apply. L. A. Bianco, "Latin et langues vivantes dans l'Encyclopédie," *Recherches sur Diderot et sur l'Encyclopédie* (1996), 141–147, at 142. At the elementary level, the composition of themes in the respective vernacular and in German was obligatory already at the market town schools and at the urban schools, *Ratio*, 133 and 137. For the vernacular instruction at the Latin schools see *ibid.*, 149–151, and at the gymnasia see *ibid.*, 268.

37 The *Ratio* prescribes five royal academies, one for each of the newly established Hungarian school districts and one for the Kingdom of Croatia: Győr, Oradea (Nagyvárad), Trnava, Košice and Zagreb. *Ibid.*, 51.

38 *Ibid.*, 286.

39 See H. Engelbrecht, *Geschichte des österreichischen Bildungswesens*, 3 vols. (Vienna 1983), 3: 34–35 and esp. ch. 4, "Die Krise des Gymnasiums." G. Klingenstein labels the whole Theresian period as 'a crisis of education' (*Bildungskrise*). G. Klingenstein, "Bildungskrise. Gymnasien und Universitäten im Spannungsfeld theresianischer Aufklärung," in *Maria Theresia und ihre Zeit* (Salzburg 1979), 213–223.

in 1753, when the first step was made towards the standardisation of the university curriculum in the whole of the Habsburg Monarchy under the pretext of state interest. The imposition of uniformity on the college system was even more complicated than implementing reforms at the university level because each religious order was teaching on the basis of their own textbooks and methods.⁴⁰ What is more, at the Catholic colleges Latin was prescribed as the exclusive language of instruction. This fact created an insuperable obstacle for the possible implementation of modern pedagogical ideas, which recommended the mother tongue as the most natural means for processing new knowledge in the child's mind.

The situation could have been resolved only if the state had taken over the complete supervision of education. This happened after 1773, when the Society of Jesus was finally suppressed by the Pope. While the Viennese authorities identified educational problems a long time before the Pope's condemning decision, funds suddenly received from the dissolved order meant an enormous opportunity for the state. Besides, overall society in 1773 was not the same as in 1750. The reading public was absorbing the writings of French (in particular previously forbidden Jansenist) and English writers more and more, while keeping a watchful eye on the German states. The confrontation with Prussia in the Seven Years' War called for a new sense of collective identity, which would surpass the estates-based commonality, and this was called 'patriotism' in the contemporary language. The development of patriotic spirit became in this way the main task of civic education under the supervision of the state, which sought to foster a unifying monarchical patriotism encompassing all of its citizens.⁴¹ Without entering into a discussion about the problem of patriotism in a composite monarchy, its advancement represented a significant departure from the still valid educational goals inaugurated in the confessional age of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

40 In her resolution of 28 Sept. 1770 to the Bohemian-Austrian Chancellery, Maria Theresa made herself clear: "Das Schulwesen [...] ist und bleibt allzeit ein *Politicum*." G. Klingenstein explains the eighteenth-century meaning of the Latin word *Politicum* as "the public interest, the jurisdiction of the state and secular society in contrast to *Ecclesiasticum*." Klingenstein, "Bildungskrise," 217.

41 *Ibid.*, 219. More extensively on the topic of monarchical patriotism see T. Shek Brnardić, "Modalities of Enlightened Monarchical Patriotism in the Mid-Eighteenth Century Habsburg Monarchy," in *Whose Love of Which Country? Towards an Intellectual History and Patriotic Discourse in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (Leiden 2010), 629–662.

The Fostering of German in Hungary: Count Niczky's Proposal of 1769

In the Hungarian part of the monarchy the situation was even more complex than in the Austrian Hereditary Provinces. Alongside the system of Catholic colleges, overseen by as many as eight religious orders, Lutherans and Calvinists had their own *lycées*.⁴² The first known Hungarian contribution to the debate about the reform of the college system was drafted by Privy Councillor Count Kristóf Niczky (1725–1787) in 1769.⁴³ Niczky's position as the implementer of the enlightened Viennese politics enabled him to judge the situation in Hungary from the position of advocates of national education, where "the true usefulness to the monarchy and its subjects" served as the main criterion in the selection of school types and taught disciplines. Niczky thought the existing state of education in Hungary hardly matched the criteria of usefulness. The main problem, he believed, was that religious orders focused too much on Latin in their instruction.

Schools run by Jesuit or Piarist Fathers have as a main subject *Principia Catechetica in genere*, something from *Histori* and *Geographi*, but foremost the Latin language, which is taught for six years. *Classes* are divided as follows: *Minor Parva*, *Major Parva*, *Grammatica*, *Syntax*, *Poesis* and *Rhetorica*. From this it is evident that the main subject is the Latin language.⁴⁴

In spite of that, Niczky recognised the necessity of Latin for the Kingdom of Hungary ("It is true that the knowledge of this language is beautiful elsewhere, but in Hungary it is necessary"), just like the *Ratio*, because it was used in

42 The Lutherans held five large *lycées* in Pressburg, Sopron, Kežmarok (Kesmark/Käsmark/Késmárk), Levoča (Leutschau/Lőcse) and Prešov (Eperies/Eperjes), whereas the Calvinists also had five large colleges in Debrecen, Sárospatak and in the Transylvanian cities of Cluj-Napoca (Klausenburg/Kolozsvár), Târgu Mureş (Neumarkt am Mieresch/Marosvásárhely) and Aiud (Straßburg am Mieresch/Nagyenyed). Kosáry, *Culture*, 112–113. In 1766 the Jesuits in Hungary ran 36 colleges, the Piarists 26, the Franciscans four, the Conventual Franciscans four, the Pauline Order two, while the Benedictines, the Dominicans and the Premonstratensians each had but one college. Csáky, "Von der Ratio," 205.

43 [K. Niczky], "Allergehorsamste Meynung, wie die Gymnasia in dem Königreich Ungarn zum grösseren Vortheil und Nutzen des Staats könnten eingerichtet werden," in Fináczy, *A magyarországi közoktatás*, 1: 401–415.

44 *Ibid.*, 402.

the discussion of public affairs and in correspondence with the higher court. However, the length of the Latin course remained problematic, and Niczky asked if it was necessary to spend six years on its teaching. In his opinion, the youth could learn how to speak and write Latin just as well in five years. He made a parallel to foreign languages such as Italian and French, which were usually mastered in less time, and wondered if the same could be applied to Latin. The reasons for mastering Latin in secondary school should be purely practical and related to the usefulness to the state: Niczky's suggestion was that the graduates from secondary schools should gain proficiency in spoken Latin and should acquire the style of letter writing together with 'narrative' or 'historical' style, which was required for administering secular offices.⁴⁵ If the main goal remained the upbringing of the youth "for the service of the supreme ruler and the public," then five years should be enough, and the poetry class could be dedicated to a discipline more useful for the state. In Niczky's view, the professor of poetry at the Jesuit and Piarist colleges could be easily substituted with the professor of the German language.⁴⁶

This was a revolutionary proposal because Niczky suggested the introduction of a 'German school' before beginning Latin instruction. He thus favoured the knowledge of a living language before the study of Latin itself and the explanation of Latin grammar rules. Up until then, in accordance with the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* in most Catholic schools, the child would start learning Latin through the medium of Latin as a language of instruction, that is, grammar rules were explained in Latin.⁴⁷ In the explication of the usefulness of the German language, Niczky announces the rationale of the *Ratio*: parish priests and chaplains could easily listen, teach and preach to the German-speaking citizens; the residents of counties could communicate more easily with soldiers; reading German books about commerce and economy (of which there are many) would make people more suitable for the service of Her Majesty and for the common good; finally, the Hungarian nation would be connected with Germans through the community of language.⁴⁸

45 Ibid., 402–403.

46 Ibid., 413–414.

47 The Jansenist stance towards language teaching was reversed. Claude Lancelot says in the preface of his methodological work (first published in 1644) "il est visible que nous nous devons servir de nostre langue maternelle comme d'un moyen pour entrer dans les langues qui nous sont étrangères et inconnues." C. Lancelot, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre la langue latine* (Paris 1709), 18.

48 [Niczky], "Allergehorsamste Meynung," 402–404.

It is important to note that Niczky's reform proposals for the Jesuit and Piarist colleges in the Kingdom of Hungary did not come out of the blue. The official Viennese language politics, which sought to set German on a pedestal, became crystallised much earlier. The so-called Gaspari's reforms preceded them chronologically in the Hereditary Provinces. Giovanni Battista de Gaspari (1702–1768), history teacher and the secular supervisor of Austrian gymnasia, put together in 1764 the 'Instruction for gymnasia' (*Instructio pro scholarum humanioribus*) for the ministry of education (*Studienhofcommission*), in which he proposed the equal treatment of Latin and the German mother tongue at colleges, and that ancient authors should be explained and translated, both orally and in writing, in the German language. Likewise, he proposed the composition of new textbooks, written in German. The Jesuit Andreas Friz (Fritz) (1711–1790) from the Theresian college was commissioned for Latin and anonymously put together a four-volume *Kurze Einleitung zur lateinischen Sprache mit einigen aus der deutschen Sprachlehre beygesetzten Anmerkungen zum Gebrauche der oesterreichischen Schulen* (Vienna 1763, 1766, 1770).⁴⁹ Its first three volumes intended for the first three grades were written in German, that is, in the pupils' mother tongue, whereas only the fourth was written in Latin.⁵⁰ Gaspari's reforms can be regarded as the first binding state regulations of the gymnasial studies, which were in effect for almost six years before Niczky's proposal. The queen even gave approval for the implementation of Gaspari's reforms in colleges on the whole territory of the Habsburg Monarchy, including the Kingdom of Hungary.⁵¹

49 *Kurze Einleitung zur lateinischen Sprache mit einigen aus der deutschen Sprachlehre beygesetzten Anmerkungen zum Gebrauche der oesterreichischen Schulen* (Vienna 1763, 1766, 1770).

50 K. Wotke, *Das oesterreichische Gymnasium im Zeitalter Maria Theresias* (Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, vol. 30) (Berlin 1905), xxviii–xxx and xxxiv.

51 *Ibid.*, xxxv. A case in point is the Jesuit College at Varaždin, the capital of the Kingdom of Croatia from 1767 until 1776. In Aug. 1769, its rector was ordered through the Croatian Royal Council to harmonise the plan of studies with the 'Viennese Method of Studies' (*Viennensis studiorum norma*), which is actually Gaspari's 'Instruction.' Further orders were teaching the style of letter writing instead of poetics in the fifth, i.e. poetry class; introducing German as the language of instruction in the first three grades; appointing a college teacher of 'the basics of German letter and language.' All these requirements are listed in Niczky's proposal. The Varaždin college introduced German teaching in 1770. M. Vanino, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod. II*. [Jesuits and the Croatian people. Part two] (Zagreb 1987), 387–395.

Methodological Uniformity—the Main Objective of the *Ratio*

The watchword of the Theresian school reforms was the achievement of ‘public happiness’ on the general level, which fell within the duty of the kings. While travelling through the Kingdom of Slavonia, the royal commissioner Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube (1728–1778) asserted in his travel account that Maria Theresa was guided by two premises in establishing new schools for the ‘Illyrian’ (here for Greek Orthodox) population in 1776: first, the fact that good education is immensely useful not only for the state, but also for the church; and second, “that the true happiness of each man depends almost exclusively and only on the education of his mind and heart, received in his youth.”⁵² The opening sentences of the *Ratio* confirm this royal stance, by justifying the exclusive right of Hungarian kings to take care of education.⁵³

Since the Hungarian monarchs were invested with the power to implement the reforms in the field of public education, the queen was the one who had the last word when it came to reform proposals and their implementers.⁵⁴ The Hungarian reforming ‘team’ was selected among royal administrators and included both recognised drafters, as well as shadow men, whose names remained publicly unknown for different reasons. The most exposed person was József Ürményi (1741–1825), who alone signed the project drafts of 1776 and 1777 submitted to Maria Theresa, which would serve as the foundation of the *Ratio*.⁵⁵ Yet it is a well-known fact that Ürményi had collaborators: the ex-Jesuit Pál Makó (1724–1793); physicist and mathematician Dániel Tersztyánski (1730–1800), editor of a journal committed to the popularisation of science and director of the *Hofkammerarchiv* in Vienna; the already mentioned Count Kristóf Niczky; and, most likely, Tersztyánski’s close friend and collaborator, the

52 F. W. von Taube, *Historische und geographische Beschreibung des Königreiches Slavonien und des Herzogthumes Syrmien*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1777), 1: 14.

53 § 1. *De necessitate recte ordinandae educationis, deque jure ejusdem procurandae regi in Hungaria reservato* [On the necessity of regulating education properly and on the king’s exclusive right in Hungary to administer it]. *Ratio*, 3–5. ‘Public happiness’ (*publica felicitas*) as the ultimate goal of education is mentioned throughout the *Ratio*, see 117, 230, 239, 370.

54 On the conflict at the diet of 1764, where the Hungarian Estates fiercely opposed the endeavours, which sought to justify the legislative autonomy of the Hungarian kings without their participation, see Shek Brnardić, “The Modalities,” 655–660.

55 Ürményi divided his memorandum to the queen in four parts, which fully corresponds to the division of the *Ratio*. Josephus Ürményi, *Scholarum et studiorum systema pro regno Hungariae et eidem annexis provinciis* [System of schools and education for the Kingdom of Hungary and the provinces incorporated to it. 1776]. *Anno 1776*. Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), Fol Lat 2983 fol. 2^r.

Slovak ex-Jesuit Adam František Kollár (1718–1783), the multitalented scholar and Chief Court Librarian.⁵⁶

Let us now turn to the structure of the first Hungarian educational code sponsored by the state. According to the *Ratio*, “uniformity” (*aequalis forma*) in an educational system is one of the most necessary assumptions for achieving public happiness.⁵⁷ In the Theresian and Josephist era this goal became the reason of state, which directed the reforming activities after the suppression of the Jesuits.⁵⁸ In the draft of the *Ratio* of 1776, Ürményi, then a young official at the Hungarian Chancellery, stresses exactly this point:

Furthermore, the university in my system must be that source, whence knowledge, *a similar method* of teaching letters, and all useful things and advantages for instruction flow out in academies, branches and gymnasia in the kingdom as through just as many small brooks; that next to this [the university] is particularly attentive whether sound school principles are everywhere being taught following *a similar idea* and whether the *uniformity* of sciences and taught school disciplines is being established [italics mine].⁵⁹

In accordance with this principled programme, the striving for uniformity is visible in the minutely elaborated three-part division of the *Ratio*, which had to be applied to the territory of the whole kingdom. This shows the complexity of reforms in Hungary, which proved to be much more systematic than those in the Hereditary Provinces. Its first part tackles the institutional division, teaching staff and school funding, the second is focused on the teaching content and material and provides detailed syllabi as well as methodological instruction for the curriculum, whereas the third treats school regulations and

56 D. Kosáry, *Les réformes*, 7; and L. Csóka, *Maria Theresa iskolareformja és Kollár Ádám* [The school reform of Maria Theresa and Adam Kollár] (Pannonhalma 1936). Kollár's participation in the creation of the *Ratio* remains officially unconfirmed due to the understandable reasons. His name was possibly hidden because of Kollár's unpopularity among the Hungarian noble circles. He was the author of the pro-monarchical treatise *De originibus et usu perpetuo potestatis legislativae circa sacra apostolicorum regum Hungariae* [On the origins and the everlasting exercise of legislative power on the part of the apostolic kings of Hungary concerning the church matters], which defended the legislative power of the Hungarian and consequently Habsburg kings at the diet of 1764.

57 *Ratio*, 117.

58 E. Kowalská, “Das Elementarschulwesen des 18. Jahrhunderts: ein Modellfallgesamstatlicher Ausbildung in der Habsburgermonarchie,” *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 49, no. 41, (1997/1998) 12–32, at 25.

59 Ürményi, *Scholarum et studiorum systema*, fol. 3^v.

discipline. The previously incoherent school system is now institutionally unified into one organic whole, thus creating the educational pyramid from the bottom up (unlike the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* which starts from the top), that is, from the simple to the more complex, with the university at the end of the educational cycle:

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

- vernacular or national schools (*scholae vernaculae seu nationales*, in sources also known as *triviales*)
 - a) village schools (*scholae paganae*) (one year)
 - b) market town schools (*scholae oppidanae*) (two years)
 - c) urban schools (*scholae urbanae*) (three years)
 - d) normal schools (*scholae primariae*) (four years)

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

- Latin or grammar schools (*scholae Latinae seu grammaticae*) (three years)
- gymnasia and archgymnasia (*gymnasia et archgymnasia*) (two years)

HIGHER EDUCATION

- royal academies (*academiae regiae*) (four years)
- Buda University (*universitas*) (four years)

The greatest novelty in the *Ratio educationis* with regard to the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* was the elementary school system, which introduced the type of ‘vernacular or national schools’ with classes held in the native languages of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁶⁰ As we know, the Jesuits achieved the greatest success in the field of the college, that is, secondary education. The elementary education in their system remained in the shadow due to the fact that upper educational institutions were more likely to become hotbeds of heresies. Unlike in the age of Enlightenment, their fight was not against ignorance, but against disbelief.⁶¹

The vernacular schools were intended for the youth of the peasants and town dwellers.⁶² Their model was the elementary school system of *Trivial-, Haupt- und Normalschule* set up by Abbot Johann Ignaz von Felbiger

60 *Ratio*, 150.

61 G. Compayré, *Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle* (Paris 1880), 171.

62 *Ratio*, 144.

(1724–1788) in the Hereditary Provinces in 1774 through the “General School Ordinance” (*Allgemeine Schulordnung*).⁶³ The Hungarian adaptation was by no means a blind adoption of Felbiger’s model because the authors of the *Ratio* knew they had to take into account the uniqueness of the Hungarian constitution. In this manner four principles were emphasised, all of which considered multilingualism and multiconfessionalism as the basic characteristics of the Hungarian homeland:⁶⁴ 1) the variety of different nations and languages; 2) the Protestants, who did not attend Catholic schools; 3) the knowledge of Latin, which is *extremely necessary* for those who dwell in Hungary and its provinces; and 4) the knowledge of German, being *notably useful*.⁶⁵ These accents coincided with the requirement of the proponents of ‘national education,’ that it should comply with the constitution and the laws of the country.⁶⁶ For this reason the knowledge of Latin was deemed ‘extremely necessary’ in Hungary, unlike in other countries, for example France and Germany, where its knowledge was defended, but categorised as (just) ‘useful.’ Only later, after the events of 1784 and 1790, would German and Hungarian earn the ‘necessary’ status.⁶⁷

The additional emphasis upon the usefulness of German, which was classified as a *lingua patria* in the *Ratio*,⁶⁸ testifies to the undisguised tendency of the Viennese authorities to create a “language of the monarchy” (*Monarchie-Sprache*), that is, to integrate the Habsburg Monarchy through the medium of a living language, which was regarded as the most cultivated after Latin.⁶⁹

63 An excellent and informative analysis of ‘knowledge transfer’ regarding the elementary school system based on Pietist principles, which Felbiger imported from Prussia to the Habsburg Monarchy, is Melton, *Absolutism*, 225.

64 *Ratio*, 117.

65 *Ibid.*, 116.

66 “L’éducation devant préparer des citoyens à l’état, il est évident qu’elle doit être relative à sa constitution et à ses lois; elle seroit foncièrement mauvaise, si elle y étoit contraire,” La Chalotais, *Essai*, 12–13.

67 See the protocol made on the occasion of filling up a teaching vacancy in the first grammar class of the Levoča gymnasium in 1793, where one of the tasks for the three competing candidates was to compose a letter in Latin and Hungarian, in which the necessity and usefulness (*necessitas et utilitas*) of Latin, German and Hungarian in Hungary had to be shown, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [State Archives of the National Archives of Hungary] C 67 1793 fons 16. pos. 86. no. 16.

68 See fn. 24.

69 Kowalská, “Das Elementarschulwesen,” 21. This tendency of imposing the German language as the medium of communication in Hungary did not start only with the *Ratio*. We have already mentioned the ‘Viennese Method of Studies’ and the case study of the Varaždin college. Moreover, in Croatia a large number of new German grammars and

The reason behind the promotion of German was not national, but rather political. It was assumed that the state was more effective if state authorities could directly communicate with citizens. In order to promote German literacy, the royal textbooks were bilingual: a vernacular on the left side was followed by the German translation—or more precisely—by the German original on the right side, forged in Felbiger's workshop. The uniformity of textbooks' content in the whole of the Habsburg Monarchy was thus achieved.⁷⁰ Furthermore, the uniformity of the Habsburg school system was likewise realised through the application of a common teaching method (*methodus* or *norma docendi*), also known as the 'Sagan method.'⁷¹ It was Felbiger's invention, which was disseminated through the district normal schools, which also featured as the centres of teachers' training.⁷² Latin primers were bilingual as well, although the combination here was Latin-vernacular.⁷³ However, German did not remain neglected and translation exercises were conducted in Latin-vernacular-German.⁷⁴

dictionaries started to be published after 1760, and in 1769 the permission of publishing German books on the Croatian territory was issued. In turn, several authors published Croatian grammars in German, in order to make communication two-sided. The growth and appearance of German bookshops, German theatre, German newspapers reflect the successful popularisation of German and the gradual ability of the Croats to speak it. T. Shek Brnardić, "Exchange and Commerce: Intercultural Communication in the Age of Enlightenment," *European Review of History* 16 (2009), 79–99, at 90.

70 For example, the reading primer for the Kingdom of Croatia: *ABC knisicza za potrebnost narodnih skol/ABC oder Namenbüchlein zum Gebrauche der National Schulen in dem Koenigreiche Croatien* (Buda 1779), in which Felbiger's original was translated into the Croatian Kajkavian dialect.

71 The method consisted of five steps, which sought to engage the attention of the whole class at once, and relied heavily on memory. J. I. von Felbiger, *Die wahre Saganische Lehrart in den niedrigen Schulen* (Speyer 1775).

72 The model normal school was in Pressburg, for the reasons mentioned at the beginning of this essay. *Ratio*, 129.

73 I could identify only two bilingual Latin primers, that is, one in the Croatian Kajkavian dialect and one in Hungarian: *Elementa linguae Latinae in usum scholarum nationalium per regnum Hungariae et adnexas provincias./Zachetek navuka diachkoga jezika za potrebnost narodnih skol vugerzkoga y horvatzkoga kralyeztva* (Buda 1781); and *Elementa linguae Latinae in usum scholarum nationalium per regnum Hungariae et adnexas provincias/A deák nyelvnek eleji a magyar nemzeti oskolák számára* (Buda 1781).

74 E.g. "Pueri ingenui amant litteras. Dobri dechaki lyube navuke. Redliche Knaben lieben die Künste." *Elementa/Zachetek*, 159.

The Cartesian Foundations in Teaching Latin: The Enlightened Pedagogy at Work

The bilingual and even trilingual primers represented evidences *par excellence* of the great change in favour of a vernacular methodology in the process of learning. In the previously mentioned *Entwurf zur Einrichtung der Gymnasien in k. k. Erblanden* (Vienna 1775), the learning of the mother tongue is highly recommended because its cultivation is a “characteristic sign of a polished nation”⁷⁵ The question one needs to ask is how this vernacular methodology reflected upon teaching Latin and in which philosophy it was rooted? Both the *Entwurf*⁷⁶ and the *Ratio* together with the Latin primer for vernacular schools⁷⁷ recommended as the most useful method the so-called analytical approach, which was strongly advocated by the only Latin methodologist known by name at that time, the already mentioned Adam František Kollár. He is the author of the Latin primer intended for Austrian schools *Anfangsgründe der lateinischen Sprache, für die österreichischen Staaten auf allerhöchsten Befehl verfasst* (Vienna 1774),⁷⁸ where he says in the introduction:

I became convinced already long ago not only through the wise advice and incomparable example of famous le Fevre⁷⁹ [...] who was, as it is already known, both the father of learned Madame Dacier and [her] leader to the Latin and Greek elegant sciences, but also through my long-time experience, that in learning learned languages the best teaching method is the one, which is in schools usually called the ‘*analytic method*.’ But since this method, to my knowledge, is very rarely observed in public schools with proper order and exactness, there is a necessity of writing new textbooks [italics mine].⁸⁰

75 *Entwurf*, 100.

76 *Ibid.*, 104.

77 *Elementa/Zachetek*, 203.

78 The introduction is signed with ‘A. F. K.’ which is the abbreviation of “Adam Franz Kollar” [Kollár], *Anfangsgründe*, 8.

79 Tanneguy Le Fèvre (1615–1672), whose children (especially his daughter Anne who became famous Mme Dacier known as translator of the classics) understood Latin and Greek already at the age of nine, was the champion in advocating the practice of translation in language learning. His book *Méthode pour commencer les humanités grecques et latines* (1672) was in widespread use in many countries, and especially in England.

80 [Kollár], *Anfangsgründe*, 3–4.

Furthermore, the author stresses the French model for his teaching method, invented by the “erudite men known under the name Port-Royal,” who in his view doubtlessly excel among others. The mentioned grammar manual was most likely the Port-Royal grammar *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre la langue latine* (Paris 1644) put together by the young grammarian Claude Lancelot (c.1616–1695), of which the author in his own words used the Italian translation⁸¹ as well as the French excerpts. Being convinced of the inherent value of this Jansenist model, he did not consult many works written by local (i.e. German) writers except for Cellarius, mentioned at the beginning of this essay, and the polyhistorian Matthias Bel, who adapted Cellarius’s work. Of course, the book in question is again most likely *Erleichterte lateinische Grammatica* (Merseburg 1689), which Bel adapted as *Grammatica Latina facilitati restituta* (Leutschoviae 1717). In the author’s words, they were both methodologically accorded with the French Latin grammar mentioned earlier. In order to understand the real meaning and impact of this choice in teaching Latin, which after the disappearance of the Jesuit college system became normative for all the schools on the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy, it is necessary to have a closer look at the philosophical foundations on which it was laid.

In explaining the pedagogical philosophical foundations, the French theoretician of education Gabriel Compayré clearly stresses the difference between the ancient and modern pedagogy: modern pedagogy takes into account human nature, and is not limited either to regulate *a priori* the programme of studies, or to impose the teacher’s authority. The recognised philosophical torchbearers of such an approach were René Descartes and Francis Bacon. By observing the natural order in reasoning, Descartes proposed in his *Discours de la méthode* (1637) that every pursuit of research should have an order, that it should proceed from the known to the unknown, from what is easy to what is more difficult.⁸² In short, starting from analytic geometry Descartes proposes the method of *analysis* or the (dis)solving of concrete and complex phenomena as the principal method of demonstration and instruction. There the search for truth comes *a priori*, that is, before the conclusion. Its opposite is *synthesis*, where the conclusion comes *a posteriori*, that is, before the search.⁸³

81 Probably *Nuovo metodo per apprendere agevolmente la lingua latina* (Turin 1767).

82 Compayré, *Histoire*, 368–369.

83 “Definitions and Descriptions of Analysis,” in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, available at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/analysis/si.html#Descartes>, accessed on 7 July 2013.

The methods of analysis and synthesis were also known as 'analytic' and the 'direct' or 'synthetic' approach.⁸⁴

The group gathered at the Jansenist abbey Port-Royal-des-Champs were the first educationists that translated the principle of analysis as laid down by Descartes in the field of pedagogy. In addition, they took over the Cartesian philosophical idea that language was the creation of man rather than a gift of God, something that made him different from animal. Since language came to be seen as a reflection of human mind, so it was directly related to the human ability to reason and was thus analysable in rational terms. This demystification made all languages equal, which implied that pedagogical practice in language teaching should be the same everywhere.⁸⁵ This view of the 'parity' of languages was revolutionary at the time, when only classical languages headed by Latin were considered as worthy of learning. A vernacular had to reach the standard of Latin in order to become its equal 'partner' in the process of learning, and Latin became 'just another language,' learnt as a foreign language rather than as a second language.

In accordance with these philosophical premises, the Port-Royal solitaires produced the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* (1660), a sort of criticism against the Jesuit teaching practices. It contained the three important ideas relevant for language teaching: "a) a rational critique of classical—primarily Latin—teaching; b) the development of a vernacular methodology; and c) vigorous advocacy of translation as the central task of language learning."⁸⁶ The Port-Royalists turned to the existing language abilities of the students, that is, to their French mother tongue, in order to apply the Cartesian rationalism to language teaching. Their most common opinion was that a foreign language should not be taught by giving rules in that very language. In order to rationalise the amount of grammar that realistically could be taught, Claude Lancelot published a series of 'new method' books starting with Latin. The rules of Latin were presented in French verses for the sake of easier memorising and taking into account the pupil's immediate linguistic abilities. Order and sequence were the main traits of the Port-Royal system, where everything had to be enjoyable to the pupil. The Port-Royal vernacular methodology went in hand

84 The Jesuit *Ratio studiorum* advocated a cruder version of the 'direct method,' which avoided the use of the vernacular as the medium for learning Latin. All teaching at earliest stages, including grammar rules, was implemented in Latin in order to try to get everyone to read and speak this classical language. Compayré, *Histoire*, 183.

85 M. J. Benson, "Port-Royal and the Seventeenth-Century Paradigm Shift in Language Teaching," *History of Education* 31 (2002), 521–534, at 521–522.

86 *Ibid.*, 524.

with the rationalisation of grammar: through the practice of translation (first oral, then written) the teaching of Latin started to be closely related to the teaching of a vernacular. In this manner translation became *the* method for the facilitated learning of languages, which implied a thorough knowledge of the mother tongue before starting with a foreign language.⁸⁷

However, there was a reaction to the rational logic of the Jansenist approach. Although by 1660 the ‘analytic method’ had replaced the ‘direct or synthetic method’ of a Jesuit kind in progressive schools, by 1730 this very method had been replaced by the newer version of ‘direct method,’ based on the sensationalism of John Locke and his French followers. Instruction through the impressions was proclaimed as *the* ‘natural method’: instruction in a foreign language should begin by a direct translation *without* extracting grammar rules and without making compositions in the language concerned. The maxim of this approach, which incorporated the natural order, was ‘direct sensation first’ and ‘intellectual abstraction later,’ meaning that all lessons could be unconsciously absorbed only by exposing the student to a foreign language. This so-called usage approach—whose opposite was the ‘rules’ approach of analytic kind—became so widespread that after 1740 there was hardly a treatise that did not propose some kind of ‘direct’ teaching through the senses (showing pictures, models, etc.), where the play-learning process would replace effort and discipline.⁸⁸

Finally, it is worth mentioning that Kollár’s Latin primer *Anfangsgründe der lateinischen Sprache*, which advocated the Jansenist analytic approach as a principal learning method, found itself exposed in this debate between ‘usage’ and ‘rules.’ Martin Ehlers, the reviewer for pedagogical books in the *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* and the representative of the German philanthropist movement⁸⁹—the main advocates of the Lockean ‘usage’ method—severely criticised Kollár’s book for not evaluating the latest German pedagogical literature, and for using Felbiger’s catechistic method (*Fragmethode*),⁹⁰ which was allegedly limited to memorising and reciting rules.⁹¹ Later on, Latin teachers

87 Ibid., 526–529. See also Waquet, *Latin*, 147–149.

88 Coe, “Natural Order,” 151, 155, 158. Waquet, *Latin*, 151.

89 Ehlers was La Chalotais’s German follower, who strongly advocated national education under the auspices of the state in his *Gedanken von den zur Verbesserung der Schulen notwendigen Erfordernissen* (Altona 1766). Therefore, he carefully observed the reforming activities in the Austrian lands, which he reviewed for *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek*.

90 See fn. 71.

91 [M. Ehlers], “Anfangsgründe der lateinischen Sprache für die Oesterreichischen Staaten auf allerhöchsten Befehl verfasst. Buch 1.: Rezension,” *Allgemeine deutsche Bibliothek* 27 (1775), 262–266, at 263–264.

in the eastern part of the Habsburg Monarchy started to criticise the 'rules' approach, too. For example, Ján Gross (1759–1839), a Lutheran Slovak trained at Jena and director of the first Serbian gymnasium in Sremski Karlovci,⁹² strongly supported the 'usage' approach of the direct method in his work of 1794 dealing with the right way of teaching Latin.⁹³

Latin in the Classroom: The Apprenticeship for Life

In the 'usage' approach the pupil was only exposed to a foreign language for the purpose of translation and for better understanding it, which was actually a road to passive knowledge. In contrast, the analytic approach promoted *active* knowledge, because the memorisation of grammar and rhetorical rules was preparing the pupil for the practical *use* of the language concerned. At the time when European intellectuals were discussing whether Latin composition and exercises at schools was an imperative or not, the necessity of the Latin language in the Kingdom of Hungary required its proficiency in both written and oral form. Latin was far less important in the Hereditary Provinces and it was not even an optional subject in Felbiger's elementary school scheme.⁹⁴ On the other hand, in Hungary its learning was advanced already at an early age in all three kinds of vernacular schools due to its constitutional value and status of a quasi-living language. However, there was a caveat: gaining knowledge of Latin was socially exclusive, that is, reserved only for children of the country nobility and for the very talented ones, who would continue their studies at the Latin/grammar schools.⁹⁵ The early focus was on the rudiments of the Latin language,⁹⁶ including the rules of Latin composition, which were described in the respective vernacular and practised through the translation of short

92 Z. Spevak, "Slovački intelektuali—prvi direktori Karlovačke gimnazije" [Slovak intellectuals—first directors of the gymnasium at Sremski Karlovci], *Istorija pedagogije* 49 (2003), 750–757, at 751.

93 I. Grosz, *De recta ratione linguam Latinam in gymnasiis tradendi* (Vienna 1794), 57.

94 "The introduction to Latin" (*Anleitung zur lateinischen Sprache*) was present as a subject only in *Haupt-* and *Normalschulen*, where the middle-class pupils were mostly educated. Johann Ignaz von Felbiger, *Allgemeine Schulordnung für die deutschen Normal-Haupt- und Trivialschulen in sämtlichen Kaiserl. Königl. Erbländern* (Vienna 1774), §5.

95 *Ratio*, 128, 133, 137, 144.

96 The Latin primer for Hungarian vernacular schools was *Elementa linguae Latinae in usum scholarum nationalium per regnum Hungariae et adnexas provincias* ([1st ed.] 1781, ([2nd ed.] 1784, ([3rd ed.] 1787), whose Latin version is a translation from German *Anfangsgründe der lateinischen Sprachlehre zum Gebrauch der Nationalschulen im Königreich Ungarn in*

sentences and texts.⁹⁷ This natural way of the child's first encounter with a dead classical language via his mother tongue was, in the opinion of the author of the *Ratio*, the most adequate preparation for the later Latin school.

The aim of the Latin or grammar school was to provide the adolescents with factual knowledge (*eruditionem*), which was applicable in various life conditions, and formed citizens useful to the fatherland.⁹⁸ This included Latin literacy, that is, the ability both to read and to write by imitating the classical style and Latin for everyday purposes. The curriculum foresaw the instruction lasting for three years and the age of admission was not fixed, taking into account a different development speed, albeit an age of ten years was recommended as the minimum.⁹⁹ The Latin curriculum in the final year had to be supplemented with the art of proper thinking and with the exercise in style, so that the quality of compositions in Latin and vernacular could be equal.¹⁰⁰ After completing the grammar course, a student would be dismissed or would continue *humaniora littera* at the gymnasia.¹⁰¹

One of the main enlightened criticisms against the Jesuit method of language instruction was the long duration of the Latin course. In contrast, the author of the *Ratio's* section on the Latin schools claimed that Latin could be mastered sufficiently in only three years' time. He lists the three principles applicable to a thorough learning of *any* language, which shows the acceptance of the idea of the Port-Royal universal grammar, where all languages were treated equally. Briefly, in the Latin schools the emphasis was on the purity and richness of expression, which were the ancient virtues of the Latin style. It was considered useless to waste the very precious time of this age on elegance as the third virtue, which had to be in the centre of endeavours at the gymnasium.¹⁰²

Latin instruction in the second grade of the Latin school methodologically continued the first one with a result that "words scattered in the mind are assembled into one whole,"¹⁰³ One of the ways was the 'natural order,' which is particularly interesting: it implied giving the pupils a dictionary (whose description corresponded to Cellarius), containing not only root words, but

den damit verbundenen Staaten (Buda 1780). The Hungarian and Croatian vernacular variants of this Latin primer have already been mentioned (see fn. 73).

97 The content of *Elementa linguae Latinae* refers to a large extent to the rudiments of the Latin language, types of words and style.

98 *Ratio*, 147.

99 *Ibid.*, 155.

100 *Ibid.*, 153–154.

101 *Ibid.*, 155.

102 *Ibid.*, 166.

103 *Ibid.*, 170.

also derivatives and compound words, whose memorisation was made easier with the teacher's help. Translating exercises had to be analytically examined according to grammar rules, so that each word was credited with a meaning, and translated in the mother tongue: first piece by piece, and then as a whole. Pupils would make translations at home in writing, and the teacher had to re-read and correct them publicly, and finally, students had to translate them back to Latin.¹⁰⁴

For the author of the *Ratio*, memory is generally very important in the process of language learning. However, it was emphasised that the exposed method was special because it presented words that were in *everyday use* and thus more easily attracted pupils' attention. The accent on practical Latin went hand in hand with the new educational realism,¹⁰⁵ and was in a perfect accordance with the status of Latin as a living language in the Hungarian context. For the same practical purpose, short narratives were presented to the pupils about contemporary, not ancient things: about the fatherland, about the church, about learned men, about nature, about a famous, still memorable event, about the deeds and sayings of kings, about citizens' achievements, etc. All of these topics had to stimulate the youth's attention and foster diligence.¹⁰⁶ The second year in the grammar school was spent on acquiring the richness of vocabulary and on gaining more profound knowledge of rules, in a relaxed way, that is, "without annoyance."¹⁰⁷ Finally, the use of Latin in everyday commerce was introduced.¹⁰⁸

The instruction in the third year was a corollary to the first and the second year. Teachers made every effort so that the adolescents would retain the richness of collected words; second, that they understand grammar more profoundly; third, that they fully obtain the faculty of speaking, whose foundations had already had been laid in the second year. The focus on everyday

104 *Ibid.*, 171–172.

105 It was A. H. Francke (1663–1727), who first introduced the Latin for everyday purposes in his educational institute called Pädagogium at Pflingsten. Having taken the pedagogical realism of Comenius, Franckean Pietist pedagogy did not strive to teach the students how to speak the pure Latin in an eloquent style, but wanted to train them to speak Latin as if it were a living language. For this purpose, he recommended the reading of the Latin newspapers rather than classical authors, which had already been recommended by Comenius. J. Caravolas, *Histoire de la didactique des langues au siècle des Lumières* (Montreal 2000), 116–117. Matthias Bel was Francke's student at Halle and the promoter of Pietist pedagogy in Hungary. Kosáry, *Culture*, 112–113.

106 *Ratio*, 173.

107 *Ibid.*, 174.

108 *Ibid.*, 174–175.

Latin, that is, on speaking and composing letters, accounts and reports because of the pupils' vocational needs did not mean that the classical authors were altogether left out from the curriculum. Their repertoire was only extended: whereas the Jesuits allowed for these purposes only Cicero's epistles and Cornelius Nepos, the *Ratio* supplemented this list with acts from Plautus's and Terence's plays, extracts from the Hungarian constitution, from Pliny's natural history, from writers on agriculture, moral proverbs, etc.¹⁰⁹ Finally, since Latin was regarded almost as a Hungarian vernacular language, the pupils needed to become acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of Hungarian Latinity, that is, its regional qualities, which were indispensable for public service.¹¹⁰ As for the schoolbooks, the *Ratio* of 1777 still did not prescribe school grammar or the chrestomathy of Latin authors. However, subsequent schoolbook editions continued with the tradition of the Jesuit grammar by Manuel Álvares (1526–1582),¹¹¹ whose lexical thesaurus had already been translated into Hungarian and Croatian.¹¹² János Molnár (1728–1804) conceived the new Latin chrestomathy¹¹³ and Pierre Chompré's (1698–1760) popular reader of Latin selected sermons¹¹⁴ was also widely used.

The two-grade gymnasial programme with the focus on the *humanitates* was created to perfect students' eloquence in Latin, but neither in the serious Ciceronian style, nor in the Jesuit college-style, the purposes of which was to train orators. The author of the *Ratio* warns that in contemporary Hungary orators are needed only in the sacred pulpit and their training is reserved for academies and the university. In the gymnasial rhetorical classes everything had to be in the service of the future vocation.¹¹⁵ The scope was not the education of learned men, but of citizens useful to their families, to their compatriots, and to their social class.¹¹⁶ The instruction at this level had to continue the

109 For the full list see *Ratio*, 183–184.

110 *Ibid.*, 187.

111 E.g. *Institutionum grammaticarum Latinae linguae liber secundus ad usum scholarum regni Hungariae et provinciarum eidem adnexarum* (Buda 1778, 1780, 1798). The editions of Álvares's grammar were used at the Austrian gymnasia as well.

112 *Syllabus vocabulorum grammaticae Emmanuelis Alvari in Croaticam linguam conversorum* ([1st–5th eds., resp.] Zagreb 1726, 1735, 1759, 1796, 1817).

113 *Chrestomathia ex optimis linguae Latinae autoribus concinnata in usum gymnasiarum, et scholarum grammaticarum per regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas* ([1st, 2nd eds.] Buda 1778, [3rd ed.] 1779, [4th ed.] 1782).

114 *Selecta Latini sermonis exemplaria e scriptoribus probatissimis* (Buda 1789, 1792). Kollár is said to have edited Chompré for the Austrian gymnasia.

115 "Omnis igitur eloquentiae institutio versari debet in rebus usui inposterum futuris." *Ratio*, 246.

116 *Ibid.*, 248.

programme of the third year of the Latin school, that is, it had to be focused on reading good authors, on proper thinking and reasoning, on composing and on the refinement of Latin writing and speaking.¹¹⁷ The more complete understanding of classical authors, that is, the knowledge of Roman antiquities and mythology, was furnished with the help of popular school manuals written by the Utrecht professor Willem Hendrik Nieupoort (c.1670–ca.1723)¹¹⁸ and by the German priest Philipp Joseph Holl(e).¹¹⁹ Finally, in order to familiarise the students with contemporary events, the subject of reading newspapers was introduced because “it would be shameful that the Hungarian youth is a stranger to this field.”¹²⁰

It is worth noting that the new methodology of Latin instruction in the Latin schools and gymnasia earned an unparalleled attention in the whole plan of the *Ratio* of 1777: 32 pages (almost 7 per cent) in total of the 1777 edition are dedicated to this topic exclusively!¹²¹ The authors of the *Ratio* remained faithful to the Jansenist rational ‘analytic’ or ‘rules’ method in teaching Latin, which better prepared a pupil for the later *active* usage of Latin in everyday life. The choice of textbooks, especially the retention of Álvares’s multivolume Latin grammar, as well as the very title (*Ratio educationis* vs. Jesuit *Ratio studiorum*) shows a certain follow-up with the previous Jesuit tradition, which marked the schooling system on the territory of the whole Habsburg Monarchy. The paradigm shift was visible in the treatment of local vernaculars. Their importance was more highlighted in the *Ratio* than in the previous Jesuit system, whose method was criticised by many for teaching pupils only how to speak correctly according to grammar rules (*grammaticae loqui*).

However, it would be amiss to say that the Jesuits completely neglected the mother tongue: without any doubt, it was vitally important in their transcontinental missionary activities.¹²² Yet, from their Christian humanist

117 Ibid.

118 G. H. Nieupoort, *Rituum, qui olim apud Romanos obtinuerunt, succinta explicatio ad intelligentiam veterum auctorum facili methodo conscripta* (1712). This immensely popular work was reprinted many times until 1802, only in Hungary five times between 1777 and 1799.

119 P. J. Holl(e), *Mythologia seu fabulosa deorum historia, traducta e Germanico, notis et supplementis illustrata in usum regionum gymnasiorum per Regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas* (Buda 1778).

120 *Ratio*, 266.

121 This whole methodological part is missing in the edition of 1806. For the Latin schools see §§. CXIII.–CXVI. For the gymnasial Latin programme see §§. CXL.–CXLVI.

122 For the needs of (re-)Christianisation in the period of Catholic Renewal, the Jesuits as experts in linguistic expression were assigned with a task of composing vernacular grammars and dictionaries. Whereas dictionaries might have been bi-directional (Latin-vernacular, vernacular-Latin), grammars were written entirely in Latin. For the Croatian

educational point of view a vernacular served only as an auxiliary means for understanding and imitating classical texts written in pure Latin used in the Golden Age of Latin literature (from approximately 70 BC to AD 18), when this language was brought to perfection. In contrast, the *Ratio* went a step further and sought to modernise Latin in accordance with the needs of contemporary Kingdom of Hungary, where Latin as a quasi-living language was still keeping the first-rate integrative function.

Conclusion: The Ratio of 1777 as the Last Bastion of Defending Latin

As visible throughout the *Ratio*, the official politics of languages in the Theresian era in Hungary was marked by a relative linguistic tolerance. However, the German language manifestly started to stand out among the multitude of vernaculars because of its nascent establishment as the *Monarchie-Sprache* or the language of communication in the Habsburg Monarchy. The privileged treatment of the Latin language, however, in the curriculum of the *Ratio* of 1777 remained intact thanks to its constitutional status. Whereas the learning of German was (only) useful, the learning of Latin was necessary. The promotion of the social exclusivity of Latin learners (reserved only for the talented ones and those of the noble origin that would later make a career in the public service) was compatible with early modern elitism, and the promotion of education according to social classes. Therefore, attention in the *Ratio* was paid to the change of the *methodology* of Latin teaching; it did not want to change its authoritative and elitist status. The authors of the *Ratio* sought to adapt Latin to the needs of the contemporary world, while retaining its significance as a maker of elite identity.

This linguistic equilibrium in the field of the Hungarian school system as outlined in the *Ratio* lasted only until 1784. In this year Joseph II shocked the nation by proclaiming that the use of a dead language as the official language in Hungary could hamper progress towards enlightenment. In his ordinance of 18 May 1784, which enacted the German language as official in the Hungarian administration, the king proclaimed Latin an obsolete phenomenon, unsuitable for the age of enlightenment:

language, see the example by Bartol Kašić, SJ, *Institutionum linguae Illyricae libri duo* (Rome 1604).

The use of a dead language, such as Latin, in all affairs is most certainly a discredit to the enlightenment of any nation as it tacitly proves that the nation has either no proper mother tongue or no one is able to use it for writing and reading, that only the learned men, devoted to Latin studies, can express their ideas on paper, and that justice is administered and the nation is governed in a language that it does not even understand. The evidence is clear, since all cultured nations in Europe have already banned the Latin language from public affairs, and it retains its position only in Hungary and Poland.¹²³

Although Joseph II just before he died withdrew his turbulent decision about the introduction of German as the language of public life in Hungary, the constitutional primacy of Latin was shaken. Anti-Latin arguments entered the public sphere, which culminated with the requirements of a group of Hungarian representatives at the diet of 1790 to introduce Hungarian as the official language of the kingdom. In 1791 Hungarian as an optional subject entered all gymnasia and academies, and the *Ratio* of 1806 additionally highlighted the necessity of its learning: "Therefore, care should be taken with every effort, that the instruction of the Hungarian language advances in the same way as other subjects, and that its studies become customary in Hungary."¹²⁴ This exaltation of one living language, seeking to capture Latin's place over other vernaculars in the kingdom broke the linguistic partnership with non-Magyar groups, especially with the Croats. For the Croatian estates Latin turned into a symbol and a guarantee of freedom in the political sense, and the resulting 'language war' between the two political nations continued for the subsequent 50 years. Despite the waning of the significance of Latin in the Hungarian public life, the *Ratio* of 1806 remained valid in the Kingdom of Hungary until 1848.

123 The decree almost exactly incorporated Joseph II's original letter written to the chancellor. The translation follows the German text, see fn. 28 in the Introduction.

124 *Ratio educationis publicae totiusque rei literariae per regnum Hungariae et provincias eidem adnexas* (Buda 1806), 35.

The Long Road of Hungarian Media to Multilingualism: On the Replacement of Latin in the Kingdom of Hungary in the Course of the Eighteenth Century

Andrea Seidler

A pivotal point in the development of the press in the Kingdom of Hungary was the publication of the first Hungarian-language newspaper, *Magyar Hírmondó*. It was launched by Mátyás Rát in 1780 in Pressburg (Bratislava), the capital of the Kingdom of Hungary at that time,¹ approximately 180 years after the publication of the first German-language newspaper, *Relationes*, in Strasbourg;² 76 years after Vienna's first newspaper, *Wienerisches Diarium*;³ and ten years after Hungary's first German-language newspaper, the *Pressburger Zeitung* of the publisher Michael Landerer and the editor Karl Gottlieb Windisch.⁴ A researcher attempting to survey and map out this timescale is confronted

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- 1 For information concerning all the periodicals see A. Seidler and W. Seidler, *Das Zeitschriftenwesen im Donauraum zwischen 1740 und 1809. Kommentierte Bibliographie der deutsch- und ungarischsprachigen Zeitschriften in Wien, Preßburg und Pest-Buda* (Vienna 1988). *Magyar Hírmondó* was the first newspaper in the Magyar language and was developed as a counterpart to *Preßburger Zeitung*, first published in Pressburg in 1764. The paper's first editor was Mátyás Rát, a Protestant clergyman originally from Raab (Győr), who studied in Göttingen from 1773 to 1777. His actual name was Matthias Rat, but to show his commitment to a Magyar identity, he changed it to Magyar spelling in his later years.
 - 2 Concerning the history of the first German-language newspaper, see amongst others J. Weber, "Unterthenige Supplication Johann Caroli / Buchtruckers," available at www.presseforschung.uni-bremen.de/Weber-Supplik.pdf, accessed on 25 Nov. 2013.
 - 3 *Wienerisches Diarium* started in 1703. It still exists today, since 1780 under the title *Wiener Zeitung*. Cf. database ANNO: http://anno.onb.ac.at/info/wrz_info.htm; <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=wrz>.
 - 4 *Preßburger Zeitung* existed from 1764 to 1929, and was edited by Karl Gottlieb Windisch (1764–1773), Matthias Korabinsky (from 1774 on) and others. It resembled the *Wienerisches Diarium* in form and style and contained domestic and foreign news. Cf. the database DIFMOE: www.difmoe.eu/archiv/year?content=Periodika&kalender=o&name=Preßburger+Zeitung&title=Preßburger+Zeitung.

with the following questions: What happened in the press sector in Hungary between 1605 and 1780/1790, and in which stages did the modern medium of transmitting news develop in the Kingdom of Hungary? Which languages did the Hungarian press use?

In the seventeenth century, no periodicals in the modern sense, not even any forerunners, were published in the Kingdom of Hungary, which is not surprising, given the country's political situation from the early sixteenth century on. Turkish occupation, the partitioning of the country's territory into three areas and possibly also the linguistic fragmentation of the society contributed to holding back the publishing environment, the production and distribution of reading material. Even in the capital of Pressburg, first attempts at this relatively new format were only started in the course of the eighteenth century.

The Latin Press

The first documented periodical in the Kingdom of Hungary was Matthias Bel's *Nova Posoniensa* (Pressburg news) of 1721–1722,⁵ published in the Latin language. Bel was a scholar of Slovak descent from Zips (a region today in the eastern part of Slovakia, formerly predominant in German-speakers), who studied theology in Halle at the beginning of the eighteenth century and was influenced by August Hermann Francke's Pietist school of thought.⁶ Reading newspapers had come into fashion at schools and universities and was considered a useful tool in teaching, providing language practice (be it Latin or

5 Concerning the activities of Matthias Bel (in Latin, Matthias Belius, in Hungarian, Bél Mátyás, in Slovak, Matej Bel), see amongst others Karl Schwarz, "Matthias Bel—rector et instaurator scholarum Posoniensium" [Matthias Bel—Head and reformer of schooling in Pressburg], in *Deutsche Sprache und Kultur in Westungarn*, ed. by W. Krieglleder and A. Seidler (Bremen 2004), 231–249. We disregard here the Latin newsletter of Rákóczi's War of Independence entitled *Mercurius Hungaricus*, which only appeared in seven issues between 1705 and 1710, serving different goals than later periodicals.

6 August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) was appointed Professor of Greek and Hebrew at the new University of Halle by the Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg in 1691. In 1694 he took up a position as clergyman and subsequently opened a charity school, as well as an orphanage and a knight academy as a preparatory institute for university studies, the so-called Glaucha institutions (today known as Francke Foundations). "In Francke's year of death in 1727, more than 2,200 children were taught by 167 male teachers, 8 female teachers and 8 supervisors, and 250 pupils were given free meals, pledging collaboration in return." Cf. in more detail: www.francke-halle.de, accessed on 25 Nov. 2013. Matthias Bel was also assisting at the institute and receiving free meals.

the native language), allowing a dialogue with new knowledge and fostering among pupils or students political awareness, or at least awareness of political events. In his curriculum, Francke had recorded the routine as well as the benefit of newspaper reading:

Monday afternoons from 3 to 5 o'clock the Latin newspapers are read, from which they not only learn Latin terms for new inventions, but at the same time consolidate their knowledge of geography, history and genealogy [...] If any spare time remains, the students should retell what they have just read in Latin [...] It is also an opportunity to impart an understanding of the government and of the judgments of God.⁷

Bel clearly saw the advantages of this didactic resource and established reading classes in Pressburg, in one of the kingdom's leading Protestant lyceums, where he was the headmaster at the time. The newspaper he founded served mainly as a teaching resource, but was at the same time the first periodical that, in addition to other important issues, also focused on local events. This was unknown territory for the readers. Bel's paper only existed for two short years. After that, teachers and pupils again had to be content with Viennese and foreign—and therefore partly foreign-language—material. While the newspaper itself offers no clues to Bel's authorship, it is evident from his private, diary-like records.

Until 1764, only foreign and Viennese papers were available to the Hungarian reading public, with the exception of a few short-lived journalistic attempts. If one wanted to allay a thirst for knowledge or read about political news, one had to resort to the *Wienerisches Diarium* or the Erlangen or Regensburg press, mostly in the German language.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, along with a change of thinking concerning language all over Europe, Latin periodicals were gradually being replaced by ones in the vernacular languages. Matthias Bel himself, time and again, emphasised the importance of fostering the vernacular language in his programmatic writings. The enlightened reader and the imagined civil society

7 "Nachmittage von 3 bis 5 Uhr werden Montags die Lateinischen Zeitungen gelesen, daran sie nicht allein die neu erfundenen Dinge Lateinisch lernen nennen/ sondern es wird auch zugleich Geographie/ Historie und Genealogie wiederholet. [...] Ist Zeit übrig, so lässt man dasjenige Lateinische wieder erzehlen/ was gelesen worden ist. [...] [man] nimmt auch Gelegenheit die Regierung und Gerichte Gottes dabey vorzustellen." A. H. Francke, *Ordnung und Lehrart / Wie selbige in dem Paedagogio zu Glaucha an Halle eingeführet ist* (Halle 1702), 58–59.

demanded reading material in the native language. In this respect, Hungary proved to be more premodern.

In 1718 Matthias Bel wrote the following lines concerning the historical use of Latin:

In the monasteries, then the seats of learning, it was forbidden by law to keep speaking any language other than the language of writing, i.e. Latin. Shortly thereafter the custom of administering all public and private affairs in the Latin language came about. Later, with an increasing number of schools this custom became so popular that no teenage boy, even if he was to become an artisan or plough the fields, was taken out of school before acquiring sufficient Latin for daily use. And thus it happened, that peasants chattered in Latin amongst themselves during work.⁸

Though clearly an exaggerated account of the prevalence of Latin, certain questions still remain as to the extent and quality of Latin usage in the Kingdom of Hungary. At any rate, a travelogue by theatre director Christoph Seipp, published anonymously in 1793, reports that a variety of Latin conforming to German grammatical rules was still used as a colloquial language in Transylvania. For Bel, who tirelessly advocated the retention of multilingualism in Hungary and the promotion of language teaching—both foreign and native—Latin was not yet a thing of the past. In this he was rather farsighted. Seipp, who travelled from Pressburg through Moravia, Silesia, Hungary and Transylvania, and published the account of his journey in Leipzig, wrote the following about the use of Latin in Hungary:

In addition to the Hungarian language, the Hungarians, both in the kingdom itself and in Transylvania, generally use another one, which they call Latin. This Latin has as little in common with the proper Latin language used at the court and university as the Jena literary journal has with the works of Cicero.⁹

8 M. Belius, *Institutiones linguae Germanicae* (Levtschovia 1718), Praefatio: “In coenobiis profecto, quae tunc eruditionis domicilia erant, lege cautum fuit, ne quis aliter, nisi litteratorie, hoc est, latine, loqui sustineret. Accessit mox consuetudo, vt publica priuataque negotia omnia, idiomate latino administrentur. Postea mos iste, cum multiplicari cœpissent ludi litterarii, ita se vulgo etiam probavit, vt nullus puer adolescens, artibus etiam ignobilioribus, aut stiuae destinatus, a Scholis diuellatur prius, quam eam sibi sermonis Latini paravit copiam, quae vulgaribus vitæ vsibus quomodocunque sufficiat: hinc est, ut sæpe rustici inter operas agrestes, latine confabulentur.”

9 “So wohl die Ungarn im Königreiche selbst, als in Siebenbürgen, bedienen sich ausser der ungarischen Sprache, einer andern allgemein, welche sie lateinisch nennen. Dies

The Hungarian-Latin language, as the author calls it, is actually German with Latin endings: the words are supposed to sound Latin but in reality are not. The syntax of the language is German:

If somebody returns from a walk and somebody else asks, *unde veniunt*, the one arriving answers, *de spazirando*—"from taking a walk [Ger., *spazieren*]!" [...] *Ubi est Kellnerus?* "Where is the waiter [Ger., *Kellner*]?" [*U*] *bi est iste Schlingelius?* "Where is that rascal [Ger., *Schlingel*]?" *Quid est ille?* "Who is this one?" *Est unus milles!* "He is a soldier."¹⁰

He continues with this doubtlessly somewhat exaggerated, even satirical appraisal and again highlights the advantages for the German-speaking population in this admixture of languages, even though the benefit of the *lingua franca* seemed to be evident:

A German who in his youth passed through the first schools understands this language as easily as he learns it quickly. But the true Latin scholar is bewildered and is not able to answer [...] [This language] has a lot of good in it. With the help of this language all nations living in Hungary understand each other.

Parallel to this colloquial Latin, Seipp confirms, there is the real, scholarly Latin, which is held in high esteem even by those who use the Hungarian-Latin in everyday conversations.¹¹ In any case, with the exception of a short interruption during the reign of Joseph II, Latin remained the official language of the Kingdom of Hungary and the language of higher education until the mid-nineteenth century. At least to the end of the eighteenth century, it was also

Lateinische hat aber mit der eigentlichen lateinischen Sprache, welche vor Gericht und auf dem Lehrstuhl gebraucht wird, so wenig gemein als die Litteraturzeitung von Jena mit den Werken des Cicero gemein hat." [Christoph Seipp], *Reise von Preßburg durch Mähren, beyde Schlesien und Ungarn nach Siebenbürgen und von da zurück nach Preßburg. In drey Abtheilungen* (Frankfurt and Leipzig 1793), 202.

10 "Kommt einer von einem Spaziergange zurück, und ein anderer fragt: unde veniunt? (im Singulari) so antwortet der Kommende: de spazirando – vom Spazierengehen!" [...] "Ubi est Kellnerus? Wo ist der Kellner?" ubi est iste Schlingelius? Wo ist der Schlingel?" [Seipp], *Reise*, 203.

11 "Ein Deutscher, welcher in seiner Jugend die ersten Schulen durchgelaufen, versteht diese Sprache so leicht als schnell er sie lernt. Aber der wirkliche Lateiner steht verwirrt und weiss nicht zu antworten [...] [Die Sprache] hat viel Gutes [...] Mit Hülfe dieser Sprache verstehen einander alle in Ungarn wohnenden Nationen." [Seipp], *Reise*, 204–205.

the most prestigious, most widely used scholarly language. Although it no longer played a significant role in the periodicals of the Age of Enlightenment, the discourse of the potential readership is not yet imaginable without it. As late as the year 1790 the *Ephemerides Budenses* were published in Latin. The paper existed for three years.¹² Among other things, it left a treasure trove of evidence concerning new literary publications from Hungarian printing presses.

The Predominance of the German-Language Press

From 1764, and for approximately three decades after, the German-language press dominated the media landscape of Hungary with Pressburg as the leading centre: *Pressburger Zeitung* was founded in 1764 by Karl Gottlieb Windisch, private scholar and merchant, later senator and mayor of the city.¹³ *Pressburger Zeitung* offered a comprehensive programme, initially largely modelled on *Wienerisches Diarium* in form and content. The newspaper was published twice weekly, containing reports from around the world—Europe and overseas—but also from Pressburg's immediate vicinity and the whole of Hungary. Moreover, the publishers inserted scholarly news from the beginning, first in special columns, and later as separate educational or entertaining supplements in the magazine form. Three notable supplements from the first decade were: *Der Freund der Tugend*, *Der Vernünftige Zeitvertreiber* and *Pressburgisches Wochenblatt zur Ausbreitung der Wissenschaften und*

12 *Ephemerides Budenses*, published in Buda 1790–1793, available at <http://epa.oszk.hu/01000/01024/00001/jpg/>, accessed on 20 March 2014. Note especially Piroska Balogh's chapter in this volume. She analyses the function of the Latin language paper in an environment gradually adjusting itself to the use of the vernacular language and places it in the immediate vicinity of József Keresztury's (Josip Keresturi)'s *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*, published in Vienna from 1776 to 1785.

13 Concerning Windisch, the outdated works by German historian Fritz Valjavec are still often used today. Due to their German nationalist bias, they make his activity appear in a completely wrong light. F. Valjavec, *Karl Gottlieb Windisch. Das Lebensbild eines südost-deutschen Bürgers der Aufklärungszeit* (Budapest 1936). For a more recent analysis, see A. Seidler, "Stolz bin ich, ein Ungarisches Magazin herauszugeben." *Die Korrespondenzen des Karl Gottlieb Windisch* (Vienna 2003). Likewise the magazine database Hungarus Digitalis, Digitale Quellenedition – Königreich Ungarn – Der deutschsprachige Diskurs über Sprache und kollektive Identität im habsburgischen Königreich Ungarn von 1764 bis 1810: www.univie.ac.at/hungdigi/foswiki/bin/view.cgi/DigiHung, accessed on 25 Nov. 2013.

Künste.¹⁴ Karl Gottlieb Windisch wrote or edited all three supplements himself. These periodicals are hybrids of typical press formats of the Enlightenment: on the one hand they show all features of early eighteenth-century ‘Moral Weeklies,’ on the other hand they are already moving towards the format of specialised learned journals. They were attached as a separate supplement because the publishers of *Pressburger Zeitung* felt restricted by the format and possibilities of a reporting newspaper.

The three supplements were each published over a shorter period and often contained copied news concerning science and enlightenment of the public, bibliographical notices and essays reflecting the ethics provided by the philosophy of Enlightenment.¹⁵

Pressburger Zeitung, which in the year 1800 already had one thousand readers, existed until 1929, when it fell victim to radical politicians who regarded the paper as too liberal.

Thus, Karl Gottlieb Windisch can be called the initiator of the German-language press in the Kingdom of Hungary. No periodical was founded without his collaboration; he was either instrumental in founding them or at least the driving force in the background. In 1781 he published his most influential paper, the first scholarly journal in Hungary, *Ungarisches Magazin*, which managed to survive for six years, albeit with longer gaps in publishing.¹⁶

Windisch geared the journal towards the arts and sciences and appealed in a pamphlet to a great number of scholars, inviting them to send in their contributions, for which the Pressburg publisher Löwe promised to pay royalties. More than a dozen preeminent contemporary researchers and lecturers regularly contributed to the paper, among them Daniel Cornides, the Jesuit Georg Pray, Johann Seifert and the physician Zacharias Huszty. Most of the scholars publishing in German in the journal otherwise wrote their works (usually) in

14 See the annotated and digital edition of the supplements: www.univie.ac.at/hungdigi/foswiki/bin/view.cgi/DigiHung. For later supplements see Digitales Forum Mitteleuropa: www.difmoe.eu/?content=Periodika, accessed on 27 Nov. 2013.

15 Cf. the digital database Hungarus Digitalis: www.univie.ac.at/hungdigi/foswiki/bin/view.cgi/DigiHung, accessed on 27 Nov. 2013.

16 *Ungarisches Magazin oder Beyträge zur ungarischen Geschichte, Geographie, Naturwissenschaft und der darin eingeschlossenen Litteratur* was published 1781–1787. In 1787, Windisch closed it down after he had frequently complained about problems with printing. The fact that his closest collaborator, Cornides, was appointed university professor and so could spare little time for his work with Windisch, may also have played a role. Windisch’s own many offices—he was a magistrate, censor and from 1789 mayor of the city of Pressburg—also restricted his “private” activities.

Latin. Today these works have been mostly forgotten and are found as manuscripts in various Hungarian archives and libraries.

Ungrisches Magazin did not fail because of a lack of interest among its readers, but because of the economic pressure on the publisher Löwe: to make ends meet he had to give preference to publishing schoolbooks and theological literature. In 1790 Windisch started editing yet another scholarly journal, *Neues Ungrische Magazin*, with a profile similar to that of its forerunner; however his death in 1792 put an end to this initiative.

Two main factors led to the predominance of the German-language press in Hungary: In the first place, the appetite for entertainment by those Hungarian readers who spoke German as their native or as their acquired language; approximately ten per cent of the country's inhabitants were descendants of former immigrants into the kingdom from German lands. Matthias Bel described the widespread use of the German language, not only among the German diaspora:

Also among our people there are many who write and even speak High German in such an erudite way that one might think they had been educated in Saxony or together with their language had certainly been born there. All the same, these are almost exclusively people who have been abroad or have acquired this wonderful command of the German language from regular reading.¹⁷

A great part of the Hungarian educated middle class were German-speaking; they belonged to the so-called *Hungari*, loyal subjects, whose ancestors often originated from outside of the borders of the kingdom and whose mother tongue was not necessarily Magyar.¹⁸

The second factor was that the choice of German had an educational dimension: newly acquired knowledge on so far largely unknown and unexplored Hungary was to be disseminated in all German-speaking parts of Europe. With a certain pride, Windisch wrote in his letters to the scholar Daniel Cornides that his *Ungrisches Magazin* (1781–1787) was appreciated even in Göttingen.¹⁹

17 “Neque vero desunt inter nostros, qui Imperiali Germanica cultissime scribant iuxta et loquantur, vt crederes, in media Saxonia enutritos aut certe vna cum idiomate, illic satos esse. Sed hi fere sunt, qui vel oras adierunt exteras, vel Linguae Germanicae decus, ex assidua librorum lectione sibi parauerunt.” Belius, *Institutiones*, Praefatio.

18 On the concept of the *Hungarus*, see the chapter by Ambrus Miskolczy in the present volume.

19 A. Seidler, ed., *Briefwechsel des Karl Gottlieb Windisch* (Budapest 2008), 48.

Finally, after Joseph II's language decree of 1784, the publishers of media in German could be sure of the political support of the authorities.

The Beginnings of the Hungarian-Language Press

Around 1775 the Hungarian proponents of the Enlightenment came forward to insist upon the long overdue development of a Hungarian national language. György Bessenyei, member of Empress Maria Theresa's bodyguards in Vienna and publisher of initially German-language plays and a periodical called *Der Mann ohne Vorurtheil in der neuen Regierung* (The man without prejudice in the new government),²⁰ argued in his programmatic writings for the strengthening and dissemination of the Hungarian language. So did Mátyás Rát, later the founder of the first Hungarian newspaper in Pressburg, the above-mentioned *Magyar Hírmondó* (1780). The programme of these intellectuals, which aimed at the development of Hungarian as a literary and scholarly language, found little support within the power structures of the Habsburg Empire. Joseph II and his political elite had just formed the intention of making German the official language of the monarchy instead of Latin; in 1784 he enforced this plan in his famous language decree. In his travelogue, the already mentioned Christoph Seipp described the emperor's plans as follows:

It was Emperor Joseph's intention to make one country out of his many countries, to bring the hearts of his divided subjects closer together through trade and commerce. In order to achieve this, he regarded it as necessary for them to become gradually able to explain themselves

²⁰ *Der Mann ohne Vorurtheil in der neuen Regierung*, ed. by György Bessenyei, 7 issues (Vienna 1781). This anonymously published periodical was already identified as Bessenyei's work in L. Holzmann and H. Bohatta, *Deutsches Anonymen-Lexikon. 1501–1850* (Weimar 1902–1928). *Realzeitung*, 1781, issues 33–34, contains a detailed discussion of the “The man without prejudice in the new government,” followed by a short article in issue 39 in answer to this review, signed “Georg v. Bessenyei, curator of the Imperial-Royal library.” In his history of the press, György Kókay already pointed out that the paper ought to be called a pamphlet rather than a periodical; Strasser also emphasised that this publication could only be regarded as a periodical in the broadest sense. How it was published is unknown. Cf. also Gy. Kókay et al., *A magyar sajtó története. I. 1705–1848* [The history of the Hungarian press] (Budapest 1979); Gy. Kókay, *A Magyar hírlap- és folyóiratirodalom kezdetei (1780–1795)* [The beginnings of Hungarian newspaper and journal literature] (Budapest 1970).

in one and the same language. The German language seemed to him to be the one that could be advanced most quickly as probably one-fourth of the speakers of other languages were familiar with German writing and able to express themselves in it.²¹

For the German-speaking population of Hungary this was a happy event, for the Magyars a source of annoyance, which they vehemently resisted. *Magyar Hírmondó* became one of the mouthpieces of the group of authors and scholars agitating for Hungarian. It contributed to the discourse on the dreaded suppression of Hungarian by the German language in cultural life, even before the Hungarian language had a chance to unfold properly. The newspaper concentrated programmatically on the arising opportunities to develop the Hungarian language, which it saw primarily in the refinement of the fine arts and literature. In an appeal to the readers, the editor, Mátyás Rát, posed the question if there were enough “patriots truly loving their mother country and the nation”²² who wished to read news in the Hungarian language. There was no single country in Europe where the population could not get news in their mother tongue. This lack of choice was a disgrace and a disservice to the country:

This, amongst other things, is a reason why we live in such abysmal ignorance of not only the whole world but also our home country, like a worm in the nutshell, without knowing what goes on around us and what affects us.²³

The paper unanimously regarded the development of the literary language as the only practicable way of developing the mother tongue. The Hungarian-language literary products by György Bessenyei, János Batsányi,

21 “Kaiser Josephs Absicht war: aus allen seinen vielen Ländern ein Land zu machen, die Herzen der abgetheilten Unterthanen näher zusammen zu bringen durch Handel und Wandel. Dies zu erreichen, schien es ihm notwendig, dass sie sich nach und nach in ein und derselben Sprache erklären sollten. Die deutsche Sprache schien ihm diejenige zu seyn, welche am schnellsten in Gang getrieben werden könne, weil wohl der vierte Theil der Menschheit andere Sprachen mit deutscher Schrift bekannt, und sich darinn auszu-drücken fertig wäre.” [Seipp], *Reise*, 134.

22 “A hazájokat és nemzeteket igazán szerető magyar hazafiak”; *Magyar Hírmondó* (1780), 41.

23 “Ugyanis ez a többi között az oka, hogy nemcsak az egyéb világgal, hanem saját hazánkkal is oly szertelen esmeretségben úgy élünk, mint a féreg a dióban, azt sem tudván, ami körülöttünk történik, s minket közelebről illet.” *Magyar Hírmondó*, (1780), 41.

József Péczeli,²⁴ to name but a few, and their efforts to promote Hungarian metrics were observed with interest in the paper. According to the *Magyar Hírmondó* of 11 January 1786, the works showed such promise that the writer of the article predicted that Hungarian poetics would be able to rival, if not outperform French poetics within the next twenty or thirty years.

The paper also published the edicts of Joseph II concerning Hungary in Hungarian translation. In July 1784, Dávid Szabó Barczafalvy²⁵ commented on the language edict in curt sentences:

My dear Hungarians! The reason for this imperial edict [...] is that our Magyar language remained neglected and unpolished [...] Had our ancestors, kings of Hungarian blood, followed the example of other nations and, instead of introducing foreign languages into the country, cultivated their own tongue and made it public instead of the Latin language, now we could pride over our sweet mother tongue.²⁶

Rát himself, apart from publishing *Magyar Hírmondó*, was engaged in other publicistic and philological projects. Together with Miklós Révai,²⁷ he planned to publish a German-Hungarian-Latin dictionary, the concept of which he presented both in August Wilhelm Schlözer's²⁸ *Staatsanzeigen* and in *Magyar Múza*, published in Vienna.²⁹

24 They are a group of pioneers of the Magyar language who became known as language reformers, later headed by Ferenc Kazinczy.

25 Barczafalvy, Dávid Szabó, Protestant clergyman from Sárospatak, lived in Pressburg and attended, among others, universities in Germany (Göttingen) and Belgium. His book *A tudományok magyarul* [The sciences in the Magyar language], was published in Pressburg in 1792. In 1784 and 1786, he temporarily edited *Magyar Hírmondó*.

26 “Édes Magyarim! Ezen kegyelmes parancsolatnak [...] az oka az, hogy született magyar nyelvünk elhagyatott, ki nem pallérozott, [...] régi eleink, magyar vérből származó királyaink, bár követték volna más országok példáját, és ahelyett, hogy országaikban más idegen nyelveket behozztanak, bár magok nyelvét excoltálták és az ország dolgainak folytatásában a deák helyett közönségessé tették volna, mint más nemzetek, édes született nyelvünkkel dicskedhetnének.” *Magyar Hírmondó* (1780).

27 Miklós Révai (1750–1807) was a university professor and founder of historical Magyar philology.

28 August Ludwig Schlözer (1735–1809) was university professor, historian, expert in law, Statistik, and education. In his writings he dealt with among other things the history of the Kingdom of Hungary. See M. Peters, *Altes Reich und Europa. Der Historiker, Statistiker und Publizist August Ludwig (v.) Schlözer (1735–1809)* (Marburg 2005).

29 “Ankündigung eines deutsch-ungarisch-lateinischen Wörterbuchs” in *Magyar Múza* [Hungarian Muse], no. 57 (1787). In August Ludwig Schlözer's *Staatsanzeigen*, 12 (1787),

In a curious announcement of the dictionary, Rát describes the circumstances under which Hungarians were to be forced by the edict of Joseph II to learn German, and criticises them severely. There were neither enough school-books nor the appropriate dictionaries for language learners, and due to their age, the older part of the population would not be able to learn this difficult language, while the already overworked civil servants simply had no time to learn it. Rát for his part comes forward with the proposal that the German population should learn Hungarian: the Hungarian environment would immensely facilitate that. At the same time he criticises the lack of interest in the potential target group. Rát thinks that it is only possible to foster a nation's culture in learning in its mother tongue. He presents some examples from the field of activity of two Protestant denominations in Hungary: the Lutherans and the Calvinists. Among the Calvinists there are hardly any German-speaking congregationalists, and the Hungarian-speaking Reformed councils are proof of the high standard of scholarship that could be reached in the mother tongue. Among the Lutherans he distinguishes between the German- and Hungarian-speaking ones; while he praises the German Lutherans as the country's most enlightened and most erudite scholars, he still points out that Hungarian Lutherans have almost forgotten their own mother tongue in this environment, striving to use German. The attendance of foreign universities also accounted for the fact that these scholars were hardly able to read or write Hungarian. These allegations were later held against Rát by the Magyar Lutherans.³⁰ Incidentally, the dictionary never appeared in print, as it lacked a sufficient number of subscribers.

Magyar Hírmondó was not to remain the only Hungarian periodical. Other periodicals were founded, starting in Vienna in 1786 with the *Magyar Kurír* of Sándor Szacsavay, who would later also take over *Magyar Hírmondó*. In 1789 the newspaper *Hadi és más nevezetes történetek* of György Demeter and Sámuel Kerekes appeared in print, also in Vienna. There was considerable activity in the periodicals sector as well: from 1787 the Vienna *Magyar Kurír* added a supplement called *Magyar Múzsza*, at the same time *Pozsonyi Magyar Múzsza* was published as a supplement of *Magyar Hírmondó*. The year 1789 saw the start of the first autonomous Hungarian literary journal in Kaschau (Kassa / Košice), the *Magyar Muzeum*, and in 1789 the famous

340–353, it was published under the title “Über die Ausrottung der Ungarischen Sprache” (Kókay et al., *A magyar sajtó*, 305–316).

30 Kókay et al., *A magyar sajtó*, 308.

periodical *Orpheus* was launched by the author, translator and language reformer Ferenc Kazinczy.³¹

The motivation for the late but vigorously pursued establishment of a Hungarian press environment rests in the conspicuously receptive mood of the Hungarian audience: the time was ripe to offer them news in their own language. The Hungarian language could, however, assert itself against certain tendencies within the power structure of the Habsburg Empire only with difficulties. The dominant languages were German, as the official language, and Latin, whose domain had narrowed down but which was still the language of choice in the field of scholarship and education. The enlightened calls for the long-overdue development of the national language could not be suppressed any longer, in spite of Joseph II's legislation. The emperor himself had always declared that the edict concerning the new official language was not directed against the Hungarian language but had solely utilitarian reasons; moreover, the concession for the first Hungarian newspaper, *Magyar Hírmondó*, had been granted already by Maria Theresa.

The Multilingual Press in the Kingdom of Hungary

Thus, in the course of the late eighteenth century we are confronted with a trilingual press: a Latin one, on the wane, a German press, the development of which was backed by formidable political deliberation and resources, and a Hungarian one, which developed only with difficulty within the existing power structure.

The role of the press in the development of the European languages in the age of the Enlightenment is obvious. In Western Europe, the early proponents of the Enlightenment, above all Christian Wolff, addressed themselves to the public in early periodicals in the vernacular, long before the gradually evolving literary system produced notable texts around the middle of the eighteenth century. Eventually we can observe in Hungary a pattern of development similar to the western examples, albeit decades later. Periodicals offered aspiring authors and scholars the first opportunities to publish; they were a training ground in which one could make a name for oneself. Many Hungarian literary figures initially practised with shorter texts before they ventured into writing major works as established authors.

31 Concerning the founding of these periodicals, cf. Seidler–Seidler, *Das Zeitschriftenwesen*; and Kókay et al., *A magyar sajtó*, 308.

In Hungary the press passed through several stages: the Latin- and German-language newspapers introduced the use of the medium, and the experiences thus gained were absorbed and made it possible, starting from 1780, to set the course for a national language press. The political situation of the multi-ethnic Hungarian state required a multilingual press for another 150 years, a cultural diversity that was to slowly disappear after the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy.

The Language Question and the Paradoxes of Latin Journalism in Eighteenth-Century Hungary

Piroska Balogh

It has often been argued that the early modern period was one of the ‘emergence’, the ‘rise’ or the ‘triumph’ of the national vernaculars, at the expense of cosmopolitan Latin on the one hand and local dialects on the other. To the extent that this happened, the phenomenon was important for the creation of new ‘speech communities’ and eventually new trans-regional or super-regional loyalties. By 1750, the European linguistic system was very different from the medieval system, which had been divided between a living but non-classical Latin and regional dialects which were spoken rather than written. However, the simple statement that the vernaculars of Europe ‘rose’ is rather a crude one.¹

This statement by Peter Burke can be found in his 2004 volume *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe*. According to Burke, more comprehensive and differentiated models should be applied in cultural historical research concerning language usage and the awareness of social identity in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He attempts to outline such a model with respect to, among other things, the cultural and sociological status of the Latin language in Europe. According to Burke, in eighteenth-century Europe Latin was not “a language without a speech community,” but “a language in search of community.” Potential users of the Latin language—that is, its eighteenth-century target communities—were predominantly “the Catholic Church and the Republic of Letters,” meaning Catholic clergymen, scholars, professors and their students, as well as “lawyers, officials, diplomats and travellers.”² As the primary reason, Burke suggests that Latin appeared useful for creating a virtual international community identity for these linguistic and social communities: “Post-classical Latin, like the vernaculars, exemplifies the uses

1 P. Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2002), 61. The research project behind this study was supported by the János Bolyai Research Fellowship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

2 Burke, *Languages*, 44.

of language in binding together a group. In this case, the people, who were bound together formed ‘a community of ideas’ or an ‘imagined community’ that was international in scope.”³ The erosion or alteration of this ambition, for various reasons, was reflected in changes to the hegemony of Latin. However, the author explores the local aspect of this process in less detail. One very productive approach is to interpret the eighteenth-century use of Latin as an element of community identity, following Burke; or as a symbol, as suggested by Françoise Waquet.⁴ Nevertheless, I believe that the function of identity formation is not necessarily ‘international in scope.’ Even when interpreted as a symbol, its function was not exclusively the representation (and subsequent elimination) of a ‘hegemonic cultural model’ among contemporaries.⁵ While I would therefore agree with these suggestions and models, I believe that, with targeted research, the models can be honed and made more useful at the level of local processes.⁶ A review of eighteenth-century Latin-language journalism in Hungary, such as I offer below, can be extremely valuable in this respect.

Latin Journalism before 1790

Latin-language publications have a special role in the history of eighteenth-century journalism in Hungary. Tellingly, the first successful attempt to create a newspaper in Hungary concerned the Latin-language *Mercurius Hungaricus / Mercurius Veridicus ex Hungaria*, which appeared between 1705 and 1710 on a

3 Burke, *Languages*, 44.

4 F. Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign* (London and New York 2001).

5 “Latin disappeared because it no longer meant anything to the contemporary world. All that it had once embodied—a certain idea of humanity, a form of discrimination, a system of power, an universal outlook, with an underlying conception of society, its order, its standards—no longer carried meaning, or was being said differently, and the hegemonic cultural model to which it referred was now victoriously rivalled.” Waquet, *Latin*, 273.

6 With respect to Hungary, the results of such incomplete research are published in: F. Bíró, ed., *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből* [Studies on the history of the cause of the Hungarian language in the 18th century] (Budapest 2005). In this connection, Jerzy Axer published research on the use of Latin in Poland, which has been partially taken into account by Waquet. See J. Axer, “Latin in Poland and East-Central Europe: Continuity and Discontinuity.” *European Review*, 2 (1994), 305–309; J. Axer, ed., *Łacina jako język elit* (Warsaw 2004); id., “Latin as the Second Language of the Polish Republic’s Noblemen’s Nation,” in *Terra marique. The Cultural Intercourse Between the European Center and Periphery in Modern Time*, ed. by Jan Kieniewicz (Warsaw 2001), 59–63.

more or less regular basis.⁷ Its purpose was to promote the diplomatic goals of Prince Ferenc Rákóczi, who was leading the Hungarian War of Independence. The first issue was probably published in Hungarian, since the target readership was the Hungarian public and the newspaper's task was to balance the one-sided information provided by the *Wienerisches Diarium*.⁸

After the first issue, Hungarian was dropped in favour of Latin. This rapid transition to Latin was prompted by two factors. On the one hand, Latin was the language of law and public life in the Kingdom of Hungary, and as such it symbolised the historical tradition of Hungary's independence, making it a suitable vehicle for representing the struggle for independence. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that, while copies of *Cursor Ordinarius*, the Latin-language gazette published since 1677 in Vienna, are rarely to be found in German and Austrian public collections, many copies have been preserved in Hungary, which suggests that, being published in Latin, it was most popular on Hungarian territory within the Habsburg Empire, even if it expressly represented the interests of the court.⁹ On the other hand, the *Cursor Ordinarius* may have provided its editors with proof that the use of the Latin language could also be appropriate for diplomatic and propagandistic purposes. At this time, Latin was still so prevalent in Europe that a Latin-language publication was regarded as capable of informing and influencing even foreign royal courts.¹⁰ This also supports Burke's assertion that, in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, Latin was one of the most important languages in European diplomacy,

7 Photographs of all extant issues of *Mercurius*, as well as studies and information about its launch, can be found on the website of the National Széchényi Library: *Mercurius Veridicus ex Hungaria*, available at <http://epa.oszk.hu/00900/00904/mv.html>, accessed on 7 June 2013.

8 Launched in 1703, issues of the Viennese periodical can be viewed on the homepage of Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: *Wiener Zeitung*, available at <http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?apm=0&aid=wrz>, accessed on 07 June 2013.

9 H. W. Lang, "Der 'Cursor Ordinarius,' eine neuabgefundene Wiener Lateinische Zeitung," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 92 (1976), 201–210, available at <http://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00021/00295/pdf/>, accessed on 7 June 2013.

10 Besides Hungarian public collections, currently known copies of *Mercurius Veridicus* can be found in Berlin, in the Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv, R. XI. 279. Fasc. 11, Fol. 65–70, and in Paris, in the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance politique: Hongrie. Tome 14, Fol. 113–114. The related information is summarised in the following study: Á. Hangodi, "A Vendomosti és a Mercurius Veridicus" [The *Vendomosti* and the *Mercurius Veridicus*], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 112 (1996), 97–106, at 105–106.

thus in the early eighteenth century Latin could still have been regarded as a useful language in this respect.¹¹ Nevertheless, it is significant that this was the first as well as the last time that a diplomatic objective, along with diplomats as a target audience, appeared in the history of Latin-language journalism in Hungary. Latin appeared later with this function, rather in connection with political tracts, although in Hungarian pamphlet literature, which was on the upsurge in the 1790s, the Hungarian and German languages were already increasingly being used at the expense of Latin. In contrast to the demise of Latin as the language of diplomacy, the link between the Latin language and the constitutional independence of the Kingdom of Hungary, its particular degree of autonomy and the aristocratic community that represented it, seems to have lasted longer. It can be argued that the switch to Latin following the first issue of *Mercurius Hungaricus* not only served diplomatic goals, but that Latin also seemed more suitable as an intermediary language among the various strata of the Hungarian nobility, which comprised a wide range of different native languages.

Published by the scholar Matthias Bel between 1721 and 1722, *Nova Poseniensia* was chronologically the next Latin-language newspaper in Hungary.¹² The title itself indicates an intentional identification with traditional European Latin-language journalism, and specifically with the scholarly tradition represented by the Leipzig journal *Acta eruditorum*. The use of Latin was therefore justified by the fact that the *lingua franca* of European science at this time was still primarily Latin.¹³ In around 1700, the Leipzig publishers of *Acta eruditorum* stated as their main reason for choosing Latin as the language of their journals that Latin was “the common language of the Republic of the Letters.”¹⁴ Indeed, at the Evangelical lyceum in Pressburg, Bel encouraged his students to read the *Acta*

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- 11 Burke, *Languages*, 45–46. On the use of Latin as the language of diplomacy at the beginning of the 18th century, see also: F. Waquet, “Latin,” in *Finding Europe: Discourses in Margins, Communities, Images*, ed. by A. Molho and D. R. Curto (Berghahn 2007), 359–376, at 369–370; A. Jönsson, “The Rise and Fall of Latin in Swedish 17th-century Politics and Diplomacy,” in *Terra marique*, 25–34.
- 12 For a detailed introduction to *Nova Poseniensia* see B. Dezsényi, “Die Anfänge des Zeitungswesens und des Zeitungslensens in Ungarn. Nova Poseniensia 1721–1722,” *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungariae* 13 (1971), 55–81.
- 13 P. Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters* (Harvard 2004), 45–57.
- 14 The circumstances are explained in detail in the chapter “The choice of the Latin language” in H. Laeven, *The Acta eruditorum under the Editorship of Otto Mencke* (Amsterdam 1990), 51–53.

eruditorum from 1718. This is a further indication that Bel, who had graduated from Halle, was attempting to put journalism into the service of education, following the teaching and example of his former professor, Francke.¹⁵ The goal of *Nova Posoniensia* was therefore not only to convey the activities and achievements of Hungarian scientific circles to the international scientific community, and vice versa. It was also a medium in the sense that its news section conveyed to students in Pressburg news from the wider world and from their homeland, augmenting their geographical, historical and cultural awareness.¹⁶ This goal is clearly reflected in the newspaper's supplement *Syllabus*, which listed the most important political and cultural events of the month, scientific discoveries, as well as the work of scientific societies. The editor even included a glossary to the news, explaining lesser-known historical and geographical concepts. The use of Latin was linked to this objective, since Latin was the language of instruction at the Pressburg lyceum, attended by large numbers of Hungarian-, German- and Slovak-speaking students from Hungary. Finally, collecting materials for publication in *Nova Posoniensia* was an integral part

15 "At the end of the 17th century, in Glaucha near Halle, August Hermann Francke established a Pedagogium for noble youth, the curriculum of which included reading newspapers once a week—namely on Mondays between 3 and 5 pm. From the Latin-language newspapers, students were not only able to learn of new discoveries, Francke argues, but can also broaden their knowledge of geography, history and genealogy. In chapter 4 of the curriculum, Francke also provides for the reading of German newspapers to supplement geographical studies. As a methodological proposal he suggests that teachers should read the newspapers before the class and should call students' attention at the beginning of the class to the most important things, in the interests of optimal time management. The school also taught the French language, and as a supplement the curriculum required the reading of French-language newspapers in the period from 1699 to 1702. By reading various newspapers at school, Francke certainly came to the conclusion that a newspaper—established primarily for educational purposes—might achieve the goal more effectively, thus he launched his own paper, the *Hallische Zeitung*, in 1708." K. Fehér, "Iskolai újságolvasás Magyarországon a 18. században" [Reading newspapers in schools in Hungary in the 18th century], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 120 (2004), 131–150, at 131–132. See also A. Bierbach, *Die Geschichte der Halleschen Zeitung, Landeszeitung für die Provinz Sachsen, für Anhalt und Thüringen. Eine Denkschrift aus Anlaß der 200jährigen Bestehens der Zeitung am 25. Juni 1908* (Halle/Saale 1908).

16 According to *Ephemerides Scholasticae*, the diary of a study published by the Evangelical Lyceum in Bratislava, reading newspapers is primarily intended to enhance students' skills in languages, history and geography. This is explained in detail in Fehér, "Iskolai újságolvasás," 133.

of Bel's regional studies research project.¹⁷ As the focus of this project was a description of Hungary and the Hungarian population as a whole, it had to take into account the linguistic diversity of Hungary, and consequently the linguistic diversity of its prospective readers. Hungarian, German, and Bel's native Slovak would not have offered an appropriately neutral solution to this problem, as each would have given preference to a particular language/ethnic group. The role of the Latin language was therefore appreciated, in that it was capable of connecting and addressing as a single community the various ethnic groups of Hungary that spoke different languages. As such, Latin implicitly came to represent in journalism a kind of regional community-based national identity, the so-called *Hungarus* consciousness.¹⁸ The editor of *Nova Posonien-sia* was exploiting three functions of Latin simultaneously: firstly, he was using it as the *lingua franca* of the Republic of Letters; secondly, it was the official language of education; and thirdly, it was able to address as a community ethnic groups in Pressburg and in Hungary.

The publisher of the next Latin-language periodical seems to have chosen Latin because it was the language of education. Since the 1777 *Ratio Educationis*, Queen Maria Theresa's decree on education,¹⁹ prescribed the reading of newspapers for educational purposes, there is every reason to associate with it the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*, which was launched in Vienna by József Keresztury (Josip Keresturi) in 1776.²⁰ This association can be supported by a number of arguments. The invitation for subscriptions specifically highlights the paper's intention to provide useful reading matter for students. It was published twice a week, which, according to the *Ratio Educationis*, was precisely

17 The results of Matthias Bel's statistical research are summarised in the volumes of *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica*, 5 vols. (Vienna 1735–1742). For its presentation, see I. Soós, "Die 'Notitia' von Matthias Bel un das Bild des neuen Ungarns, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Komitate von West-Ungarn (Ödenburg, Eisenburg, Sala)," in *Internationales Kulturhistorisches Symposium Mogersdorf 2003. Neuzeitliche Reisekultur im pannonischen Raum bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Maribor 2005), 47–68. I. Zombori, "Bél Mátyás és a Notitia Hungariae" [Matthias Bel and the Notitia Hungariae], *Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve* (1980), 113–162.

18 On the history of the *Hungarus* mentality, see the chapter by Ambrus Miskolczy in the present volume.

19 On the political background of the era, its rulers and their decrees, see É. H. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs, 1765–1800: An Experiment in Enlightened Absolutism* (Budapest 1997). For the *Ratio educationis* see the chapter by T. Shek Brnardić in this volume.

20 The journal is described in detail by Gy. Kókay, *Az Ephemerides Vindobonenses, 1776–1785* (Budapest 1958) (*Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár kiadványai* [Publication of the National Széchényi Library], 43).

how often students in secondary schools were obliged to read a newspaper. The journal comprised two sections; *Res politicae* featured mainly Viennese and Imperial news, while *Res litterariae* included book reviews and educational articles. Among other things, the newspaper provided detailed articles about the implementation of the *Ratio Educationis*, the moving of the university from Pressburg to Buda, as well as Sámuel Tessedik's progressive school of economics in Szarvas. In 1785, an editorial announced the termination of the paper, referring to Joseph II's decree on the German language, which promoted German as the official language of instruction in place of Latin, among the reasons for its demise.

However, the editor also implies that, in addition to educational purposes, there were other reasons for using Latin. On the one hand, the paper was intended for educated people, and the intention was to popularise science:

We, the writers of the *Ephemerides*, have no intention of expressing an opinion about the reviewed books. Those who think otherwise should remember that our journal is not intended for the general public, but that we have launched a partly political, partly scholarly journal. We referred to this in our programme: Whether written in prose or verse, our goal is to keep our eyes on literary things, new achievements in the arts and sciences—especially of an economic nature, from which most benefits usually arise—and those that are fitting to the development of talent and for educating people towards decency. Literary journals, such as the *Journal Encyclopédique*, therefore mix political with literary news. And this is why we have written in Latin: it is not common people but educated people who understand Latin.²¹

On the other hand, he referred to the political profile of the paper, since it was aimed not only at Hungarians but at all those living in the Habsburg Empire,

21 “Nostrum autem, qui Ephemerides scribimus, non est, de libris in publicum datis iudicium ferre. Qui ita ratiocinantur, meminerint, nos non vulgares, sed partim politicas, partim eruditas Ephemerides scribere instituisse. Ita enim in Programmate, quo Ephemerides has denunciavimus, locuti sumus: *Res etiam literarias, libros editos, nova in quocunq[ue] artium ac scientiarum genere inventa, oeconomica praecipue, ex quibus maximi plerumque fructus percipi solent, tum ea quoque, quae ad acuenda ingenia, animosque ad humanitatem infirmandos sive libera, sive adstricta numeris Oratione scribuntur, recensere (non iudicare tantummodo) nobis animus est.* Hac ratione etiam Ephemerides litterariae, ut *Journal Encyclopédique*, res politicas literariis immiscent. Et sane talem vel propter ipsam, qua scribimus, linguam instituti nostri rationem esse oportuit, cum utique non vulgus, sed eruditi solum latinam linguam norint.” *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* (1777), 165–166.

especially Croats, Slavonians, Dalmatians and Transylvanians. He made special mention of Poles as potential readers—in a good sense, since the Latin language still played a very important role at this time in Polish culture.²² He clearly treats as a community the inhabitants of one particular area, namely the Habsburg Empire, regardless of their native language. It is no coincidence that the cover page of the magazine featured the imperial eagle and the coat of arms of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, flanked by Chronos/Saturn with wings and scythe, and Mercury, the god of messengers. The *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* thus aspired to be representative of some kind of imperial community consciousness via the medium of the Latin language.

It is worth noting that, besides Hungarians, the large number of Croat readers, for whom Latin was a second language, are brought to the fore. At the same time, native German readers get only a brief mention, probably because of the large number of German-language papers available.²³ The stress on the Croatian readership indicates that, for them, Latin represented as much of a historical tradition as for Hungarians and other people living in Hungary, for whom Latin was the language of communication at the various levels of the political institutional system.²⁴ When the diet of 1790–1792 endeavoured to reinforce the Hungarian language, it was this shared historical tradition that remained disrespected, leading to a conflict between different national groups. For members of the Croatian nobility, who participated in the work of Hungarian political institutions, replacing Latin with Hungarian as official language was unacceptable, as this would mean being condemned

22 The relationship between the Hungarian and Polish neo-Latin tradition is explored in detail by J. Axer, “Central-Eastern Europe,” in *A Companion to the Classical Tradition*, ed. by C. W. Kallendorf (Malden, Mass. 2007), 132–155.

23 However, it is not unreasonable to assume a German-speaking readership, since Latin had traditionally been used as a medium between the German and Hungarian cultures. Cf. É. Knapp and G. Tüskés, “Deutsch-ungarische Verbindungen auf dem Gebiet der lateinischen Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert,” in *Acta conventus neo-latini Budapestinensis: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies, Budapest, 6–12 August 2006*, ed. by R. Svhnur and J. P. Barea (Tempe, A.Z. 2010), 775–787.

24 The orientation towards the Croatian reading public may be explained by the fact, that Keresztury came from a Croatian family from Stridóvár. Accordingly, his work has for a long time been a subject of scholarly interest in Croatia. See e.g. M. Korade, “Obrana hrvatstva u djelima Josipa Keresturija,” [Defence of the Croatian identity in the works of Josip Keresturi] in *Dani Hvarskog kazališta: hrvatsko kajkavsko pjesništvo do preporoda*, ed. by N. Batušić (Split 1993), 154–163.



FIGURE 7.1 Title page of the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*.

COURTESY OF NATIONAL SZÉCHÉNYI LIBRARY (BUDAPEST).

to silence on issues of common concern, or being unilaterally obliged to learn the Hungarian language, as Nicolaus Skerlec (Nikola Škrlec) explained in his contemporary Latin-language pamphlet on the subject.²⁵

25 [N. Skerlec], *Declaratio ex parte nunciorum Regni Croatiae, quoad inducendam Hungaricam linguam* (n.p. [1790]). On Skerlec, see É. H. Balázs, *Hungary and the*

Latin was, therefore, partly a mediatory language in the service of education. As such, its target audience comprised mostly students in secondary schools and institutes of higher education along with their teachers and professors. Various manuscript drafts and proposals from 1779–1780 suggested the establishment of a Latin-language newspaper for students by the University of Buda under the working title *Ephemerides Budenses*. These documents say a great deal about the educational function of Latin-language journalism.²⁶ The most interesting among them is a proposal by Pál Makó,²⁷ which insists that the specialist journal should not be political but scientific and bibliographic in nature. He suggested using book reviews and descriptions of scientific results to inform foreign countries about Hungarian cultural achievements and familiarise Hungarian audiences with foreign achievements. The attempt to establish the university paper was not successful. It is clear that, in the 1780s and 1790s, the German language was seen as more suitable for achieving these goals: This view is supported by Márton György Kovachich's *Merkur von Ungarn*,²⁸ and Lajos János Schedius's (Johann Ludwig von Schedius's) *Literarischer Anzeiger*.²⁹ Published in Banská Štiavnica (Selmečbánya) between 1793 and 1803, the periodical *Novi Ecclesiastico-Scholastici Annales Evangelicorum Austriacae et Helveticae Confessionis in Austriaca Monarchia* is also of interest in this respect.³⁰ Its editor, the Lutheran minister Sámuel Ambrózy, who graduated from the University of Jena, cleverly combined an educational objective with the paper's clerical target audience, and, like the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* he placed the publication in an imperial context. His example illustrates how Lutheran clerics in

Habsburgs 1765–1800. An Experiment in Enlightened Absolutism (Budapest 1997), 316–318. On the opinions and writings of Croatian parliamentary deputies on this particular subject, see Gy. Miskolczy, *A horvát kérdés története és irományai a rendi állam korában* [The history and documents of the Croatian question in the age of the estates], 2 vols. (Budapest 1927); I. Mikó, *A magyar államnyelv kérdése a magyar országgyűlés előtt 1790–1825* [The issue of Hungarian in the Hungarian parliament] (Kolozsvár 1943), 9–12.

- 26 These have prevailed in the English section of the National Archives. For a detailed presentation see D. F. Csanak, "A Ratio Educationis és az iskolai újságok" [*Ratio Educationis* and school newspapers], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 91 (1975), 243–261.
- 27 Hungarian National Archive, A 39 Acta generalia 1779/5150. Details are published by Csanak, *A Ratio*, 247–249.
- 28 *Merkur von Ungarn, oder Literaturzeitung des Königreichs Ungarn* (1786–1787). On Kovachich see É. V. Windisch, *Kovachich Márton György, a forráskutató* [M. Gy. K., researcher of sources] (Budapest 1998).
- 29 *Literarischer Anzeiger für Ungern* (1798–1799).
- 30 On Sámuel Ambrózy's Latin journal, see Gy. Kókay, "Az első magyarországi egyházi folyóirat történetéhez" [On the story of the first Hungarian ecclesiastical paper], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 113 (1997), 95–97.

Hungary still preferred Latin—a claim that is supported by an examination of archival documents of the contemporary Lutheran Church. (The hold of Latin within the Catholic Church is of course less surprising.³¹) It was, most importantly, the linguistic (German, Slovak, Hungarian) diversity of the Lutheran Church that explains the weaker impact of Protestantism's otherwise characteristic cult of the vernacular.

In any case, the use of Latin in journalism as the common language of the Republic of Letters had long provided access to international scientific discourse. The fact that Latin was regarded as a workable alternative, even in the second half of the century, is clearly illustrated by Maximilian Hell's journal of astronomy, *Ephemerides Astronomicae ad Meridianum Vindobonensem*, published annually between 1757 and 1792. The journal contained primarily astronomical tables, but also featured short studies and reports on the subject.³² However, this example also demonstrates that scientific journalism in Latin no longer aimed at the promotion of science, but was increasingly limited to a range of specialist academic journals: the target audience comprised skilled specialists from various scientific disciplines.

The choice of Latin also had a political dimension. While, in the case of popular journals, Latin was used as a kind of 'prestige language' for the interdependent forms (i.e. educational and disciplinary) of scientific communication,³³

31 The proportions of the different languages of documents in *Archivum Generalis Ecclesiae* of the Central Archives of the Lutheran Church in Hungary is telling in this respect.

32 "Hell's main work at the observatory was to publish each year the *Ephemerides Astronomicae* (astronomical ephemerides)—that is, astronomical almanacs with the precise time on every day of the year of sunrise and sunset, the positions of the moon and planets and other astronomical data. This type of publication, which was to become for a long time a common procedure of observatories, had only begun to be published in the Paris observatory a few years before. The first volume of 250 pages, written in Latin, appeared in 1757; it also included other astronomical observations and scientific results. This was the first publication of this type in German-speaking countries. Hell published 37 volumes of ephemerides between 1757 and 1792. In this work he was helped by his co-workers and students, among them Franz Triesnecker (1745–1809) and Anton Pilgram (1730–1793)." A. Udías, *Searching the Heavens and the Earth: the History of Jesuit Observatories* (Dordrecht 2003), 27. On Hell's scientific-political goals, see L. Kontler, "Politicians, Patriot and Plotters: Unlikely Debates Occasioned by Maximilian Hell's Venus Transit Expedition of 1769," *The Journal of Astronomical Data* 19 (2013), 83–93. For more on the journal and Hell, see the chapter by László Kontler and Per Pippin Aspaas in this volume.

33 The qualification "prestige language" is certainly applicable to these functions of Latin. Cf. H. Kahane, "A typology of the Prestige Language," *Language* 62 (1986), 495–508.

the various intentions of politically motivated Latin journalism differed from, and in some cases even contradicted, one another.

As we have seen above, Latin became, on the one hand, the symbol of an independent Hungarian statehood and of constitutional independence, making it a suitable vehicle for expressing distance from the Habsburg emperors as well as aspirations to independence. This trait is clearly revealed in the protest against Joseph II's 1784 decree that made German the official language in Hungary: the counties protested largely by arguing for Latin rather than Hungarian as the state language.³⁴ Thus it was not merely the case, as mentioned in Burke's monograph, that Latin was the common language of officialdom. In Hungary, due to its traditional role in public life Latin could appropriately become one of the symbols of the feudal political community that was the Hungarian nobility. On the other hand, the Latin language was considered a suitable means of representing multilingual Hungary as a cultural and political unity within the Habsburg Empire. Latin therefore became particularly important for non-Hungarian groups, in particular members of the German- or Slovak-speaking bourgeoisie of Hungary, who, boasting of outstanding cultural achievements, wished to acquire political rights (being a perfect example). In this case, Latin again functions as a symbol of community, as the representation of the so-called *Hungarus* consciousness with its medieval roots.³⁵ Due to the many languages used in Hungary, the ideal medium of this common patriotic feeling, whether in scientific works or journals, was Latin. Finally, the example of the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* demonstrates that Latin was also considered an ideal medium primarily for those court-related efforts that aimed to represent the various linguistic and identity groups of the Habsburg Empire by means of a politically and culturally grounded sense of community. In other words,

34 Based on detailed archival research, it is verified by I. Soós, "II. József német nyelvrendelete és a hivatalos Magyarország" [The language decree of Joseph II and the official Hungary], in *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből*, ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 2005), 261–301.

35 See fn. 19 and I. Soós, "Értelmisségi minták és a Hungarus-tudat / Modely prislusnikov inteligencie a povedomie Hungarus" [Intellectual models and the Hungarus consciousness], in *Regionálna a národná identita v madarskej a slovenskej histórii 18.–20. storocia / Regionális és nemzeti identitásformák a 18–20. századi magyar és szlovák történelemben*, ed. by Z. S. Sutaj and L. Szarka (Presov 2007), 10–20. For the 'Hungarus intellectuals,' the Latin language was, among other things, a cultural context, by which they wished to represent the whole of Hungarian culture as a unity. Cf. É. Knapp and G. Tüskés, "Forerunners of Neo-Latin philology and national history of literature: the 18th century," in *Companion to the History of Neo-Latin Studies in Hungary*, ed. by I. Bartók (Budapest 2005), 37–54.

Latin-language media suited the goals of Hungarian feudal politics, which emphasised constitutional independence, as well as those of the Habsburg court, which aimed to reduce imperial disparities, or at least to cover them up.

However, in the 1790s feudal politics started increasingly to favour Hungarian as the official language of Hungary. In court politics, as indicated by the language decree of Joseph II, aspirations towards the generalisation of the German language, and at the same time towards the linguistic unification of the Empire, appear from the 1780s. Even those endeavours aimed at strengthening a sense of imperial identity by cultural means tended to prefer the German language. However, faced with the strong opposition of the Hungarian estates in 1790, and later in the crisis of the Napoleonic Wars, the court was forced to make concessions, first with respect to Latin and later with respect to Hungarian as official language.³⁶

In popular scientific journalism vernaculars were gaining ground, while Latin was confined to strictly scientific organs. Published between 1790 and 1793, the Latin-language *Ephemerides Budenses* can be considered a rarity, and almost as an anachronism, in terms of language choice.³⁷ It may therefore be instructive to examine the reasons behind the unusual choice of language in the case of the last major Latin paper in Hungary.

The Curious Case of the *Ephemerides Budenses*

Significantly, the title *Ephemerides Budenses*, as I suggested above, had already been considered a few years earlier as the title of a journal to be published by the university for Hungarian scientists and students for scientific and educational purposes. Besides, the *Ephemerides* had strong associations with the Viennese *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*, both in terms of the Latin wording of the title, and in terms of its main sections (*Politica*, *Litteraria*). The political section often featured news from Vienna, while the cultural section frequently contained educational news. The typographical similarity was reinforced by the use of an A5 format and ornate frontispiece. The journal's image therefore

36 See Gy. Szekfi, *Iratok a magyar államnyelv kérdésének történetéhez 1790–1848* [Documents on the history of the status of Hungarian as official language, 1790–1848] (Budapest 1926), 64–65.

37 *Ephemerides Budenses*, 1790–1793. Edited by Mihály Tertina (1790), Pál Spielenberg (1790–1793). The first year is available on the website of the National Széchényi Library: <http://epa.oszk.hu/html/vgi/boritolapuj.phtml?id=01024>, accessed on 07 June 2013.

suggests that it was published as part of an existing tradition that was officially supported and recognised by the court.

It is also noteworthy that the date and location of the launch of the journal coincide with the 1790–1792 diet, where the explicit goal of the Hungarian estates was to strengthen and extend Hungarian constitutional autonomy. The *Ephemerides* published continuous and detailed news about this diet, and its tone was far from loyal to the court. Lack of loyalty in tone is best demonstrated by the presence of lines that are struck through, especially in 1792–1793, indicating the censoring of the journal's content. News items containing such deletions had probably attempted to provide information about certain events of the French Revolution. The journal's frontispiece is visually very expressive. Although it is typographically similar to the emblem used in the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses*, it is very different in terms of content. Among the many crests that surround the emblem, the largest is the Hungarian coat of arms in the centre, while the Croatian coat of arms is also given special place. At the centre of the emblem is the Royal Castle of Buda: the remains of the Renaissance palace, built in the fifteenth century by King Matthias, which was at that time perhaps the most impressive architectural symbol of the tradition of a previously independent Hungarian statehood.

It is also remarkable that, while the *Ephemerides Vindobonenses* specifically intended to use Latin as a bridge to link the multilingual residents of the Habsburg Empire, and the Kingdom of Hungary within it, the *Ephemerides Budenses* apparently represents entirely different linguistic priorities. An examination of the journal's news and book reviews from this perspective reveals the outlines of an explicit programme of language cultivation, with a focus on the Hungarian language. Published as an appendix to the *Ephemerides*, and written by the then editor Paul Spielenberg, the programmatic statement that became known as *Monita de Lingua et theatro hungarico stabiliendo* is a concise summary of this programme.³⁸ Spielenberg establishes that the development of the Hungarian language is an essential condition for the development of the Hungarian sciences, the arts, industry, commerce, and national existence in general. It is followed by a list of the steps of a language cultivation programme. The first step is the elimination of multilingualism in Hungary. According to the author, in non-Hungarian-speaking villages and towns it should be a legal requirement that small children be looked after by Hungarian-speaking nannies and servants so that they learn Hungarian

38 *Ephemerides Budenses* [hereafter: *EB*] (29 Oct. 1792), appendix. It is no coincidence that in 1837 this programme was translated into Hungarian: this was the time when its radical stance on behalf of Hungarian found followers (translated in *Honművész* [22 Dec. 1837]).



FIGURE 7.2 *The title page of the Ephemerides Budenses.*

COURTESY OF NATIONAL SZÉCHÉNYI LIBRARY (BUDAPEST).

through mutual communication, especially if this is enhanced by the establishment of appropriate local schools. The next step is to make Hungarian the official language, especially in public life—in other words, to introduce the use of Hungarian in the county and national diets, in the administration, and in

the judicial system. Finally, the position of Hungarian should be strengthened in the cultural sphere. The means for this would be the construction of theatres for Hungarian-language companies, and the creation of philological societies.

The statement of the programme's aims was followed by an overview of the potential obstacles. On the one hand, the author makes clear that the programme would take at least five to ten years to accomplish, and that the results would only be enjoyed by the next generation. On the other hand, he refers to the potential response of the country's non-Hungarian-speaking population. Spielberg assumed that the national consciousness of Croatia-Slavonia was based primarily on legal privileges, while with respect to Transylvania he took only the language identity of the nobility into account, thus he presents this obstacle as being far smaller than it actually was.

The outlined programme was influential in terms of the thematic composition of the *Ephemerides*.³⁹ The journal contained a remarkably large proportion of news and reviews related to the development of the Hungarian language: almost every issue included at least one item on the subject. The related news, announcements and reviews published in the *Ephemerides* can be divided into eight main thematic categories. First of all there were general articles on the situation of the Hungarian language and the cause of language cultivation, which were usually written with programmatic intent.

Another important thematic group comprised articles on the situation and development of Hungarian-language literature. Pál Spielberg's overview of the situation of Hungarian poetry deserves special mention here: it emphasised, along with linguistic and prosodic issues, the importance of the cultivation and teaching of aesthetics in the development of Hungarian poetic language. The diagram below illustrates the distribution of reviewed books according to language.

What is of interest here is the fact that a significant change in the number of printed publications in Hungary occurs in around 1790—the time when the previously dominant Latin was being replaced by Hungarian-language works. Between 1781 and 1790, published works comprised 36.8 per cent Latin, 33.8 per cent Hungarian, 23.3 per cent German, 5.4 per cent Slavic and 0.7 per cent other, while between 1791 and 1800 the proportions were 37.3 per cent Latin, 40.4 per cent Hungarian, 16.9 per cent German, 5.1 per cent Slavic and

39 For a detailed demonstration supported by quotes see my earlier study: P. Balogh and M. Szilágyi, "...quibus Linguae Hungaricae propagatio cordi est: Az Ephemerides Budenses a magyar nyelvhasználat kérdéseiről" [... to those who cherish the spreading of the Hungarian language: The Ephemerides on the issues of using Hungarian language], in Bíró, *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv*, 23–69.

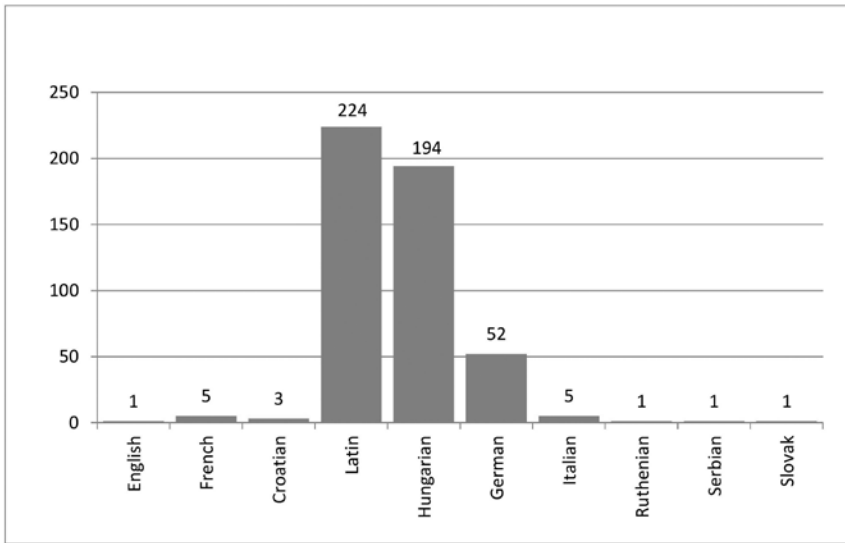


DIAGRAM 2 *The language of books reviewed in the Ephemerides Budenses.*

0.3 per cent other.⁴⁰ The reviews featured in the *Ephemerides* follow this trend with striking sensitivity, and despite being a Latin-language journal it reflects no preference for Latin-language literature. Rather than trying to cover it up, it in fact underlines the increasingly significant number and proportion of Hungarian-language published works. These data also confirm that the *Ephemerides* paid particular attention to contemporary Hungarian-language literature and endeavoured to promote its development.

I have grouped into another category those writings that concern the relationship between the Hungarian language and the sciences. On the one hand, these works attempt to demonstrate that various disciplines can be practised and propagated in Hungarian. On the other hand, they reject the creation of grammar books and monolingual dictionaries, as debates over such things would only delay the rendering of scientific language into Hungarian. Instead, they regard as best practice the Hungarian translation or revision of technical or popular scientific works.

The publications examine the practical conditions for this programme, touching upon issues such as the institutional background of language cultivation. The main question was whether learned societies (or an academy)

40 For detailed data, see Cs. Csapodi, "A magyarországi nyomtatványok nyelvi megoszlása 1800-ig" [The language distribution of Hungarian printed matters before 1800], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 70 (1946), 98–104.

could be more efficient than a patronage system in supporting the development of the Hungarian language. The *Ephemerides* clearly advocates the establishment of societies or an academic institution.

Education is another priority area for the praxis of language cultivation, and another group of articles comprises news on the language used in the education system. The programme outlined in the journal targets the exclusive and primary use of the Hungarian language in education in Hungary. The possibility of minority language education is mentioned, but only to support the teaching of Hungarian. Latin is interpreted as a cultural code that provides access to the cultural patterns of ancient art, while knowledge of German is apparently fitted into the utilitarian requirement for learning modern European languages.

Another group of articles explore a theme that is also relevant to the practice of language cultivation: They include writings on the development of Hungarian-language theatre, news about Hungary's first theatrical company in Pest-Buda, and appeals on its behalf.

Other articles touch on the social and political dimensions beyond the cultivation of language. They illustrate attempts at and options for promoting Hungarian as an official language. According to reports in the *Ephemerides*, this was a clear-cut objective. The concept of introducing Hungarian as the official language allowed for an independent language area only in Croatia, but this was to be based on the continuity not of the vernacular Croatian language but of Latin. This was obviously related to the legal and historical traditions of independent Croatian feudalism and feudal autonomy.

In closing, it is worth mentioning a topic to which fewer articles are devoted, but which is noticeably present, mostly in connection with the everyday use and usability of the Hungarian language. Even if not presented as a problem, and even if not emphasised, the need to use Hungarian as the language of conversation and religion is also referred to in pages of the *Ephemerides*.

In this context, the obvious question is why the *Ephemerides Budenses* chose Latin as intermediary language for an ostensibly radical Hungarian-language programme. One possible answer is that, by using the Latin language, the aim was to conceal and moderate the radicalism of the programme, particularly with respect to censorship. But do any of the editors provide a direct answer to the question?

At the launch of the journal, its first editor, Mihály Tertina, did not reflect on the problem.⁴¹ In contrast, it was mentioned on many occasions by Pál

41 For a detailed exploration of Mihály Tertina's editorial practice, see S. A. Tóth, *Tertina Mihály a lapszerkesztő és a latin poéta* [Mihály Tertina, the journal editor and Latin poet] (Baja 2011).

Spielenberg, who took over the role of editor a few months later and who remained in this post until the journal ceased publication.

He was forced to reflect on the issue, since the journal's choice of language was not self-evident, even at that time. This is clearly illustrated by an anonymous letter, published in one of the issues of *Ephemerides*, which contained ironic exhortations addressed to the editor.⁴² Following various other remarks, the author of the letter states that it is not clear why the editor has chosen Latin as the language of his journal. Firstly, he considers it obvious that the editor of the *Ephemerides* is an apostle of the Hungarian language cause. Secondly, in his opinion the *Ephemerides* can have few readers who are unable to speak another foreign language apart from Latin and Hungarian. Thirdly, the writer of the letter points out that the editor of the *Ephemerides* wishes to eliminate the use of Latin in the fields of science, public affairs and justice—but why does he couch his arguments in Latin?

Another attack against Spielenberg was reported in a news item written by the editor himself.⁴³ According to this report, in March 1791, during a German-language theatre performance, a member of the Pest German theatre company made an unscripted, scathing remark about Spielenberg's earlier, unsuccessful efforts as a poet and his current editorial activities: “si, inquit, Poësis mea non iuverit Latina scribam nova.” The article in the *Ephemerides* claimed that this piece of sarcasm was revenge for a report in the *Ephemerides* about how the leaseholder of the German theatre company had made the situation of the Hungarian company untenable. Interestingly, the use of Latin has a negative connotation in both the reader's letter and the actor's remark, but neither made an apology for the Hungarian language.

The editor's responses were based on two key arguments.⁴⁴ On the one hand, the editor argued that Latin-language journalism had a centuries-old tradition that was now represented in Europe exclusively by his publication. On the other hand, since the language of public life in Hungary had been Latin for eight centuries, Spielenberg believed it to be the most effective means of presenting public affairs in such a way that the news reached everyone interested. In his editorial notes, in which Spielenberg reflects on the continuous decline in subscriber numbers, he frequently formulates a somewhat paradoxical wish: If only the falling number of subscriptions were caused by a growing interest in the Hungarian language.⁴⁵ Incidentally, the *Ephemerides* published

42 *EB* (5 Apr. 1791), 224–226.

43 *EB* (8 Mar. 1791), 162.

44 *Ibid.*; *EB* (20 Dec. 1791), 384; *EB* (7 June 1791), “Nuncium 1”; furthermore *EB* (8 Nov. 1791), 287.

45 *EB* (20 Dec. 1791), 384; *EB* (5 Feb. 1793), 119–120.

positive reviews of Hungarian-language weeklies and journals, which suggests that it did not regard itself as a competitor in the field of Hungarian-language journalism.⁴⁶ Another anonymous reader's letter in the *Ephemerides* claimed that the situation could be explained by the general decline in interest in public affairs.⁴⁷ The letter argued that Hungarian-language journals were not being read either, and that the *Ephemerides* still attracted greater numbers of readers than the number of students studying with the few Hungarian-language professors at the academies (the five higher educational institutions), whose academic chairs had been established with so much effort.

These statements, as well as the type and nature of the articles, suggest that in using the Latin language the editors of the *Ephemerides* were targeting those readers in Hungary who had primarily learnt about public events in other living European languages (German, Italian or French) but had little access to local news in these languages. This group can hypothetically be identified with teachers and students of newspaper-reading seminars, since, as I mentioned earlier, even though it was not the *Ephemerides'* main profile, the journal contained news on educational matters and for educational purposes. The target audience also included readers who valued the traditional use of Latin in Hungarian public life perhaps more than the potential spread of the Hungarian language. Finally, it included all those who were living in Hungary but whose native language was not Hungarian and who could not therefore be

46 Cf. *EB* (16 Apr. 1790), 40, on *Erdélyi Magyar Hírvivő*; *EB* (3 Dec. 1790), on *Hadi és Más Nevezetes Történetek*; *EB* (6 Dec. 1791), 352, on *Műnemes Gyűjtemény*.

47 "Quod ad nos attinet: mihi dolet summopere, eo res latinas esse loco; ut quarum possessionem nuper in summis Gentis Hungaræ laudibus reponebamus, iam negligantur penitus, neque qui labentibus auxiliatricem manum porrigat, inveniatur. Pulcherrimos tuos in conservando latino sermone conatus nulla unquam delebit oblivio. Ego quantum per me stetit lectis tuis 7. Ianuarii Ephemeridibus omnem movi lapidem, nec dubito quin simbolam suam aliqui in huiusmodi Postæ officio deposuerint. Apud plerosque adhuc frustra sumus; nec Hungaricæ Ephemerides leguntur; atque ego forsitan non fallor, si credam te plures habere lectores, quam omnes linguæ Hungaricæ (pro qua tamen quantum clamatum?) nuper in Academiis constituti Magistri numerent Auditores." [Concerning ourselves: I am extremely sorry that the cause of Latin has made it to the point that the knowledge of Latin, which not so long ago we counted among the greatest virtues of the Hungarian people, is now utterly neglected and that there is no one to lend a helping hand. Your valiant efforts to preserve the Latin language will never be forgotten. After reading your newspaper from 7 January, I left, so far as possible, no stone unturned, and I doubt not that several others deposited their contributions in the local post office. As far as most people are concerned, it is of no avail. The Hungarian newspapers are not being read either. And perhaps I am right when I believe that you have more readers than there are students of all the newly appointed teachers of the Hungarian language at the academies (for which there was so much clamour).] *EB* (10 Feb. 1792), 63.

addressed in the press in Hungarian, but only in Latin. The latter two groups are sociologically clearly defined: the nobles, who used the Latin language as a feudal symbol of the tradition of Hungarian public policy; and the non-Hungarian-speaking, mostly civic and intellectual strata, who regarded themselves as *Hungarus*. From this, it can be concluded that the *Ephemerides* was intended as the vehicle for an educational Hungarian-language programme. The programme addressed three types of Hungarian audience: students with various mother tongues who were studying journal reading; a non-Hungarian bourgeois readership with *Hungarus* consciousness; and nobles, who preferred Latin but who were somewhat averse to journal reading. Through the Latin language the journal indirectly popularised among its readership both journal reading and the use of the Hungarian language, by demonstrating (in Latin) its values and benefits. More precisely, Latin was functioning only temporarily as a medium for the multilingual audience of Hungary: its goal was to prepare the ground for Hungarian journalism and to broaden the base of readers who understood and preferred the Hungarian language. The wish, quoted above, that the declining readership of the *Ephemerides* might be in inverse proportion to the number of readers of Hungarian journals—that is, the wish that the *Ephemerides* might fill the role of an intermediate re-educational organ in the interests of the Hungarian-language press, is particularly telling in this respect.

This approach, albeit unusual, is not entirely unique to cultural public in late eighteenth-century Hungary. In some respects, Miklós Révai's inaugural speech at the university is a good analogy. On his appointment as head of the Hungarian language department in 1802, the professor delivered an excellent speech on the value of the Hungarian language and the importance of its development and research—in Latin. He did so not only because the official language of university education was Latin, but also out of consideration for the multilingual audience at the solemn event, which could best be persuaded of the value of the Hungarian language in Latin.⁴⁸ Similar parallels can be found in the Latin-language grammar books on the teaching of the Hungarian language, published in the 1780s and 1790s, which were written for non-Hungarian-speaking students in secondary schools.⁴⁹

48 Miklós Révai, *Prolusio I. habita in auspiciis collegii hungarici die VIII. mensis Novembris anno 1802. De prejudicio communi, et noxio, natis hungaris studium linguae patriae non esse necessarium, nil utique audituris, quod non scirent, et in tradendo latini sermonis usu offensis* (Pest 1806).

49 For example Gábor Dayka's Latin-language Hungarian grammars that he compiled as a teacher at the Levoča secondary school for his non-Hungarian students. His reason was not only the fact that grammatical terms were more elaborate in Latin than in Hungarian,

Conclusion

To conclude, it is worth mentioning another aspect that emerges not from an examination of the text of the journal, but from the correspondence and legacy of its editor, Pál Spielenberg.⁵⁰ Spielenberg's network of connections is important because it encompassed many editors of contemporary Hungarian-language journals, and also because he had strong links with a particular Masonic organisation. The Draskovich observance was one of the leading organisations within Hungarian freemasonry.⁵¹ Spielenberg was a member of the observance's Pest lodge, *Magnanimitas*. This organisation was independent from the Austrian lodge that was subordinated to the Berlin Mother Lodge. It had its own, independent constitution, and its official language was Latin. This was mainly because the organisation had been founded on Croatian territory, suggesting that Latin must have been a well-functioning medium among its Croatian- and Hungarian-speaking members. On the other hand, the use of the Latin language indicated independence from the Austrian and German lodges, while being functional internationally. The organisation's constitution emphatically encourages members to engage in cultural activity. It was probably no coincidence that many editors of Hungarian-language journals in the 1780s and 1790s (Ferenc Kazinczy of *Orpheus*, János Batsányi of *Kassai Magyar Múzeum*), were members of this organisation, just like Spielenberg and several editors of German journals (such as Lajos János Schedius and Márton György Kovachich). Interestingly, these journals were mutually supportive: Spielenberg's name appeared in the pages of the *Magyar Museum*, the *Ephemerides* was cited by *Orpheus*, and the *Ephemerides* published detailed and very positive reviews of both Hungarian journals.⁵² Not to mention those

but also that it was an ideal medium for German as well as Slovak students. G. Dayka, "Proludium in Institutiones Linguae Hungaricae," "Ternio Grammaticae Hungaricae 1794," in *Dayka Gábor összes művei*, ed. by P. Balogh et al. (Budapest 2009), 243–305.

50 For a detailed summary of this research and the partial publication of this handwritten legacy, see P. Balogh, "Mozaikok egy hajdanvolt szerkesztő arcképehez—Spielenberg Pál" [Mosaics to the portrait of an editor of long ago—Pál Spielenberg], in *Kolligátum. Tanulmányok a 70 éves Bíró Ferenc tiszteletére*, ed. by M. Szilágyi et al. (Budapest 2007), 15–44.

51 For a presentation of the Draskovich observance, see H. Balázs, *Hungary*, 72, 138, 270, 305; L. Abafi, *Geschichte der Freimaurerei in Österreich-Ungarn*, 5 vols. (Budapest 1890–1899), 367–390; W. Read, *The Draskovic observance. Eighteenth Century Freemasonry in Croatia* (Oxford 1978). See also the chapter by Ambrus Miskolczy in this volume.

52 *EB* (11 May 1790), appendix, 125–127; *EB* (20 Dec. 1792), 614.

celebrations, or eulogies, that consistently followed in the wake of Kazinczy's published articles of greater or lesser import.⁵³ The implicit political programme of these journals also appears consistent on a number of points, such as the specific reinterpretation of the originally medieval office and role of the palatine in the Hungarian state organisation, which was an important topic in the pages of both the *Ephemerides* and *Orpheus*.⁵⁴ Interestingly, Croatian issues and news from those territories are given emphasis in the *Ephemerides*, and behind such information we may perhaps find the Masonic relationships of the Croatian-based Draskovich observance. I think we may risk the hypothesis that the preference for the Latin language in the *Ephemerides* was not, or was not exclusively, an editorial decision but can be interpreted as part of a cultural concept represented by the Draskovich observance.

The history of eighteenth-century Latin-language journalism currently under review therefore partly supports and partly complements Burke's and Waquet's claim that the Latin language in eighteenth-century Europe is "a language in search of community," which, at the same time, also functions as an element of community identity and a community symbol. How does the present study support this claim?

On the one hand, it can be seen that major changes were taking place within Latin's two main language communities in this period. Although the hegemony of the Catholic Church with respect to the use of Latin, as highlighted by Burke, is unquestionable, it is significant that the only Latin-language journal with a religious affiliation in contemporary Hungary was connected to the Lutheran Church, thus an examination of Protestantism should not be neglected. In the scholarly community of the Republic of Letters, the use of Latin, according to the testimony of journalism, is still intensive but increasingly being suppressed. The examination of Latin journalism suggests a possible reason for this: by the end of the eighteenth century, the system of specialist sciences had emerged in European culture. At the same time, this system was becoming more and more sharply distinguished from the popularisation of sciences, which targeted non-professional audiences and which was becoming increasingly dominant. The latter was justifiably, from the point of view of the sociology of readership, realised in vernacular languages, while Latin was restricted to the arcane

53 A detailed laudation on Kazinczy's career: *EB* (28 Jan. 1791), 68; further reviews: *EB* (20 Dec. 1792), 614; (28 Jan. 1791), 66–67; (27 July 1790), 318; (1 Feb. 1791), 75–76; (28 Jan. 1791), 65–66; (23 Aug. 1791), 121.

54 For more details on the subject see P. Balogh, *Mozaikok*, 26–29 and P. Balogh, "Orpheus sive philosophia—Kazinczy folyóirata Bacon felől olvasva" [Kazinczy's journal read from Bacon's perspective], *Sic Itur Ad Astra* 61 (2010), 173–188.

world of professional scholars. The next step in the process took place in the nineteenth century, when the specialised sciences somehow had to prove their social usefulness by aligning themselves with popular trends. Native models of the specialist sciences therefore emerge, naturally at the expense of the Latin language. Thirdly, our analysis of Latin-language journalism has also indicated that the use of Latin language in government offices and jurisdiction can be attributed not only to the survival of a historical tradition, especially in the multilingual and multinational Habsburg Empire. In the eighteenth century, the official and political use of Latin is often linked to the self-identification of emerging and competing social groups. Latin played a symbolic role in the identity of such groups, which cannot necessarily be described as “an ‘imagined community’ that was international in scope.”⁵⁵ In Hungary, the use of the Latin language acquired a symbolic role in noble/feudal community consciousness, in the *Hungarus* identity of the non-Hungarian-speaking bourgeoisie, in the creation of a Habsburg imperial community awareness, as well as in other, smaller communities, such as the Masonic Draskovich observance. Although the last of these was an international organisation, the use of Latin was intended to support its autonomy and independence. However, the example of the *Ephemerides Budenses* also demonstrates that, by the end of the eighteenth century, such forms of community identity were becoming increasingly marginalised in contrast to the emerging ethnicity-based national consciousness, which at the same time called for the dominance of native languages at the expense of Latin. The decline of Latin did not therefore signify a loss within the language user communities, but rather resulted from a transformation in the composition and self-ideology of those communities.

55 See fn. 4.

PART 3

The Other Hungarians



From the Aftermath of 1784 to the Illyrian Turn: The Slow Demise of the Official Latin in Croatia

Lav Šubarić

The introduction of German as the official language by the absolutist Emperor Joseph II in May 1784 shocked the nobility¹ of Hungary, Croatia and Transylvania. Coming on the heels of another measure of great symbolic impact, the transfer (or, as it must have seemed to the Hungarians, the abduction) of the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen to the Habsburg Treasury in Vienna, this new measure was not only seen to endanger the power and the economic well-being of the nobility, but also as a threat to the very identity of the *Natio Hungarica*.

Though largely perceived as an attempt to Germanise the kingdom, the *partes adnexae*, i.e. the associated lands, as Croatia (or, officially, the kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia) was called, and the grand duchy of Transylvania, Joseph's move was certainly motivated by the urge to harmonise and develop his realm in accordance with enlightened rationalist principles. His analysis of the language situation in his eastern domains identified the fact that Latin was the official language as a major obstacle to development. In Joseph's view, it was imperative to replace 'a dead language' with one more people would be able to understand. The Hungarian language was in his view not suitable for this role, as it was not the prevalent language—German, Illyrian (i.e. Slavic) and Wallach (i.e. Romance) being equally widespread. German was not only already in use by some branches of the administration, most notably military and financial, but its introduction promised additional advantages by consolidating the whole monarchy through the use of one universal administrative language.²

1 The collective term "nobility" comprises in itself different groups with partly opposing interests. In the following, the high nobility will be referred to as magnates, the middle nobility as gentry, while the third group, the economically poor lower nobility, plays no role in these considerations.

2 *Collectio ordinationum imperatoris Josephi II. et repraesentationum diversorum regni Hungariae comitatum* [Collection of the decrees of Emperor Joseph II and of the presentation of diverse counties of the Kingdom of Hungary], vol. 1 ([Dioszegini] 1790), 54–61.

Although Joseph closed his decree with the assurance that he would not be swayed by any petitions, the gentry immediately rose in defence of Latin in their county assemblies, articulating their opposition in form of remonstrations directed partly to the royal Hungarian regency council and partly to the ruler.³

The counties of Croatia and Slavonia shared the indignation of their Hungarian counterparts. In their missive to the king from August 1784, the gentry of Zagreb County contrasted German, “virtually unknown to the most inhabitants of the kingdom” and in itself subdivided in mutually unintelligible dialects, with the “uniform purity of the Latin idiom,” and saw the danger of “the proper languages and undefiled customs” of the kingdom being expelled from the country, as “the Hungarian youth was already being prohibited from learning liberal arts in their mother tongue.”⁴ Rebutting Joseph’s main arguments, they denied that the aim of improving the nation could be reached by discarding Latin, precisely the one language that was the embodiment of education and culture. Far from advancing the harmony among different parts of his empire, the introduction of German would more likely provoke hatred towards the Germans and the hereditary provinces. Among so many nations in Hungary, all using their own vernacular, the public interest would be best served by Latin, a language spoken in all parts of the country. Eventually, the argument turned towards the unprecedented injustice of excluding the merited and loyal nobles from offices and honours due solely to their inability to speak German, as well as the historical and legal arguments against such a proposal. Conspicuous throughout the text is the repeated identification of the county with the *gens Hungara*, a strong reminder of the nobles’ common identity as members of the *Natio Hungarica*, a multilingual social elite defined, among other elements, by their participation in politics through the medium of Latin. This missive was probably penned by the official representative of the king in the county (*supremus comes*), Nicolaus Skerlec (Nikola Škrlec), an eminent enlightened economic thinker and chief ideologue of the Croatian nobility in the following years.⁵ The remonstrations of other Croatian and Slavonian counties were similar, though not so elaborate, concentrating on the long historical tradition of Latin, the chaos and delays due to ensue from

3 See the “Introduction” above.

4 Magyar Országos Levéltár (MOL, Hungarian National Archives), Budapest, C 44, Fond 202, Pos. 57.

5 On Skerlec (1729–1799), see P. Berényi, *Skerlec Miklós báró élete és művei* [The life and works of Baron Miklós Skerlec] (Budapest 1914); and S. Vranjican et al., eds., *Nikola Škrlec Lomnički (1729–1799)* (Zagreb 1999–2000).

the decree, and the injustice and humiliation of the non-German-speaking nobles by excluding them from offices,⁶ thus mirroring the petitions and protests of the Hungarian counties, some of which nevertheless already pondered, that, if Latin had to be replaced, the introduction of Hungarian would be much more plausible.⁷

However monolithic this front against the absolutism was in 1784, soon the first signs of diverging concepts of the national and linguistic development appeared. In late 1789, faced by the increasingly hostile mood in Hungary and pressed by the unfavourable military situation in a war against the Ottomans, Joseph II made a first step of reconciliation towards the Hungarian estates. Needing recruits for his army, in a rescript to the counties, written in Hungarian, Joseph promised to summon the diet as soon as the peace was re-established.⁸ The counties reacted by demanding the immediate convening of the diet, but while the Croatian counties with most others demanded the reintroduction of Latin,⁹ some Hungarian counties were already demanding the “universal introduction of the Hungarian language.”¹⁰

A rescript of 28 January 1790, in which Joseph retracted the language decree along with most of his reforms¹¹ was received with great satisfaction. This mood is well reflected in an pamphlet titled “The letter, in which the senate and the people of Latium congratulate themselves that the famous heroic kingdoms of Hungary and Croatia again speak its language and rejoice with them that the Latin language came back from the exile and, declared for dead, returned to life,” which was printed anonymously in Zagreb after the publication of

6 E.g. the county of Pozsega/Požega, MOL, C 44, Fond 202, Pos 53.

7 “Representatio comitatus Zemplinensis in eadem materia” [Presentation of the county of Zemplén on the same matter], in *Collectio ordinationum*, 84–85.

8 Rescript from 18 Nov. 1789, MOL, A 39, 16.329/1789.

9 E.g. the county of Sarmia/Srijem, in a response written on 29 Jan. 1790 in German, an exception to the already tacitly resumed praxis of other counties of using Latin in their correspondence; MOL, A 39, 1.816/1790.

10 “Repraesentatio comitatus Neogradiensis ad suam majestatem [...] 26. Januarii 1790” [Presentation of the county of Nógrád to his majesty on 26 Jan. 1790], in *Collectio repraesentationum et prothocollorum* [Collection of presentations and proceedings], ed. by A. I. de Strohmajer, 2 vols. ([Pestini, Budae et Cassoviae] 1790), 2: 198.

11 “Rescriptum Josephi II. ad e. consilium r. l. Hungar. de die 28. Januarii 1790” [Rescript of Joseph II to the high royal Hungarian regency council from 28 Jan. 1790], in *Collectio repraesentationum*, 1: 1–2; “Rescriptum ejusdem ad I. I. Comitatus Hungariae de die 28. Januarii 1790” [The rescript of the same to the illustrious counties of Hungary from 28 Jan. 1790], in *Collectio repraesentationum*, 1: 2–6.

Josephs rescript.¹² The Croatian political opinion leaders meanwhile turned their attention to other, more pressing matters. Still reeling from the impact of the absolutism, the nobility sought to protect itself in the future by closer political ties with Hungary.

After the death of his brother, the new ruler, Leopold II, finally summoned the long-awaited diet. The instruction of the Croatian parliament for its delegates to the Hungarian diet included the provision that the use of German, as a foreign language, should be prohibited in public affairs, while Latin was to remain the official language, with the exception of the army, where “the Croatian national language” should be used, presumably in order to facilitate communication with non-Latin speaking common soldiers.¹³

When the Croatian delegates travelled to Buda, they might have been under the illusion that the Hungarian delegates would be content with the reestablishment of the *status quo ante*, but the mood among Hungarian gentry had already turned. Joseph's language decree had unintentionally helped the fledgling Hungarian language movement. By adding the insult of disqualifying Hungarian as unfit and a minority language to the injury of imposing German, it provoked more than just the intellectuals to reconsider the language situation. The proponents of the language movement now found an audience among the gentry, who started to accept the mother tongue as a part of not only their personal but also political identity.¹⁴

By the second day of the discussions at the diet conflicts had already begun to break out. The controversy first arose from the fact that the majority of the delegates wanted to introduce Hungarian as the language in which the *diarium*, the record of proceedings, was to be written, but the discussion soon widened to include the question of the language of the diet and even the general use of Hungarian by the authorities and in education. Among other opponents of this move, the Croatian delegates remonstrated strongly against the introduction of Hungarian, but were only able to obtain a compromise, by which everyone would still be allowed to voice his opinion in Latin and the Magyar *diarium* (the ‘original version’) would receive an authentic Latin translation.¹⁵

12 [A. Werntle], *Epistola, qua s.p.q. Latii sibi gratulatur inclyta heroum regna Hungariae et Croatiae suo rursus ore loqui* (Zagrabiae 1790). The author was possibly the ex-Jesuit Anton Werntle.

13 *Zaključci Hrvatskog Sabora* [Proceedings of the Croatian parliament] (= *ZHS*), vol. 9 (Zagreb 1974), 68.

14 On the language movement, see the “Introduction” and the chapter by I. Margocsy in the present volume.

15 *Diarium comitorum regni Hungariae 1790/1791* [Proceedings of the diet of the Kingdom of Hungary] ([Buda] 1791), 20–22.

Driven by the apprehension of the impending attempt of the Hungarian estates to force admission of the Protestants to Croatia against the wishes of Croatian estates, and by the certainty that the Hungarian estates would resume the language question, the delegates started working on a counter-strategy. Additional pressure was put on them by the public opinion in Croatia, where some voices singled out the most prominent of the Croatian representatives as the main culprits for the present misery.

In his anonymously circulated poem *The plea of three sisters, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia to the new Ban, count Johannes Erdődy, that they might not be robbed of their crowns and of their new bridegroom, Leopold, by Hungary*, Titus Brezovatski (Tituš Brezovački), later renowned as a writer of vernacular comedies, warned against the existential danger in which Croatia found itself: "The godless mob prepares to obliterate the Croat name and people, there will be no Slav left, no Dalmatian from now on, rather it pleases them to turn the people and language into a Scythian one, into savage customs and rules." The Latin poem fiercely attacked Skerlec, the main force behind the decision to give up certain illusory elements of Croatian sovereignty in favour of closer ties with Hungary, from which the protection of the nobility's interest against future absolutist tendencies of the court could be expected. It branded him as a venal, impious and traitorous dotard, who had previously sold out to the court and was now about to sell himself and the whole country off to the Hungarians. Brezovatski's second target was the Bishop Maximilianus Verhovacz (Maksimilijan Vrhovac), Skerletz's close ally and like him a proponent of the Enlightenment in Croatia,¹⁶ who stood accused of joining forces with the Protestants Luther and Calvin and with the Orthodox Photios, betraying both the country and the Catholic faith. But the poet's greatest scorn was reserved for the 'crude' and 'wild' Magyars, who were unfit to reign. The idea of the introduction of their language he found especially repulsive: "It is a barbaric language, spurned by all, except maybe the Lapps,¹⁷ the dwellers of the furthest pole. And rightly so, for there is no alphabet in the world, in which you could write the Hunnish words well. Brutal was the Teuton, for he ordered that you speak foreign words. How much more brutal will the Hun be?"¹⁸

16 On Verhovacz (1752–1827) see D. Pavličević, "Maksimilijan Vrhovac. Život i djelo" [Maximilijan Vrhovac, life and work], in M. Vrhovac, *Dnevnik. Diarium. Svezak I (1801–1809)* [Diary. Vol. 1] (Zagreb 1987), lii–lxxxiii; J. Kolarić, "Maksimilijan Vrhovac, 1787.–1827.," in *Zagrebački biskupi i nadbiskupi* [Bishops and archbishops of Zagreb], ed. by F. Mirošević (Školska knjiga) (Zagreb 1995), 427–445.

17 On this barb, see the chapter by P. Aspaas and L. Kontler in the present volume.

18 "impia turba parat / Atque Croatarum nomen gentemque abolere. / Nullus abhinc Slavinus, Dalmata nullus erit, / Sed genus in Scythicum linguamque immutare ipsam, /

Nicolaus Skerlec was indeed no enemy of Magyar cultural aspirations. At a later point, in his correspondence with Hungarian historian Márton György Kovachich, he wrote, “I strongly approve of your plan to publish the ‘Hungarian library’ after your return, [which] as I understand it, [is] a review of all books printed in that language”; and he further advised Kovachich on the scope of the work.¹⁹ In the realm of politics and administration, however, he saw no alternative to Latin.

In Buda, in the council of Croatian delegates and dignitaries called *conferentia regnorum*,²⁰ he and the Croatian protonotary Donatus Lukavszky (Donat Lukavski) organised the Croatian arguments in writing in the *Declaration from the delegates of the kingdom of Croatia concerning the introduction of the Hungarian Language*.²¹ A thousand copies of the pamphlet were printed (financed by Verhovacz)²² and distributed both among the Croatian counties and at the diet in the run-up to the debate on the introduction of Hungarian on 4 September 1790.

The anonymously printed and widely read *Declaratio* begins with the assertion that the Latin language is constitutional, as it has been continuously in use since the beginnings of the Hungarian Kingdom. This had been necessary in order to integrate diverse peoples inhabiting the country. To prove that Latin was the constitutional language one only had to read the recent addresses of the counties to Joseph II, after he introduced German, where this sentiment was almost universal. The authors then turn towards the consequences of the

Hirsutos mores inque statuta placet”; “Barbara praeterea lingua est, quam respuit omnis / Ni extremi Lapon incola forte poli. / Ac merito, nam alphabetum non exstat in orbe, / Hunnica quo possis scribere verba bene. / Theuto fuit durus, quod vos peregrina jubebat / Verba loqui: quanto durior Hunnus erit?” The text in *Hrvatski latinisti* [Croatian Latinists], ed. by V. Gortan and V. Vratović (Zagreb 1970), 2: 867–871.

19 A letter from 3 Jan. 1795: “Quod cum reditu tuo Bibliothecam Hungaricam, id est, uti ego intelligo, recensionem omnium hoc idiomate editorum librorum edere mediteris, probo vehementer.” Printed in *Nikola Škrlec Lomnički (1729–1799)*, 4: 960.

20 On this body see J. Kolanović, “Hrvatske kraljevske konferencije” [Croatian royal conferences], in vol. 1 of *Hrvatske kraljevske konferencije (Zagreb 1985)*, 15–43.

21 “Declaratio ex parte nunciorum regni Croatiae quoad inducendam hungaricam linguam,” in *Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo hrvatskoga preporoda (1790–1832)* [Documents concerning our (i.e. indigenous) origins of the Croatian revival (1790–1832)] ed. by F. Fancev (Zagreb 1933), 33–37. The uncertainty concerning the authorship can now be resolved as the original manuscript of the text in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (OSZK, National Széchényi Library), Budapest, Fol. Lat. 1069, 13^r–15^v, carries Skerlec’s and Lukavszky’s signatures.

22 *ZHS*, 9: 91.

eventual abolition of Latin. The king would not understand the representations of his kingdom and would have to waste his precious and otherwise better-allotted time in learning Hungarian. In Hungary proper, i.e. without Croatia and other associated lands, Hungarian was not universally in use, being familiar to less than one-third of the population. Even if one were to disregard the peasants, who do not speak Latin either, and consider only cities and counties, Hungarian was still a minority language, as in this case it had to contend with Latin, which was universally used in these circles. Not even one-third of those who were able to write documents in Latin would be able to do the same in Hungarian (if one counted only those who could really do it, not those who just claimed they were able). Even many of those who now clamoured for the introduction of Hungarian would not be able to work as well and as fast in Hungarian, as everyday language competence was insufficient for official use. The associated lands spoke different languages and were inhabited by Slavs. In Croatia, Hungarian was so seldom understood, that it would be much easier to introduce French or Italian, which at least had the advantage of being developed erudite languages. The argument according to which the Croats could just as easily learn Hungarian instead of another foreign language, i.e. Latin, was invalid. When Croats and Hungarians joined one another, they chose the third language as a common one, in order not to impose their own language on each other. It would not be enough to treat exclusively Croatian affairs in Latin and others in Hungarian. Everything concerning both kingdoms had to be treated in Latin, otherwise the Croats would not have a say in matters concerning them. It would not be possible to force the Croats to accept Hungarian against their will, as this would be a clear sign of servitude. The proponents of the introduction are once again reminded of Joseph II's times, when the whole people of Hungary considered the introduction of a foreign language as the ultimate sign of servitude. For the Croats it would be the same, whether they were forced to accept German or Hungarian, and whether they were forced to do so by the king or by their peers. The introduction of Hungarian would also be disadvantageous for gaining control over other 'associated' lands, on which the Hungarian Crown had some kind of historical claim, like Bosnia, Serbia or Galicia. These now long lost lands would certainly have reservations towards the reunification if they saw that they would be forced to accept Hungarian as the official language. Returning to the notion that Latin was the constitutional language in Hungary, the text concludes that Hungarian could only be introduced through a complete consensus, which was not in sight. Even if the whole of Hungary were unanimously in favour of the introduction, it could not be done without Croatia's consent. The *Declaratio* ends with a plea to retain the use of Latin and a threat to veto the initiative otherwise.

The most striking features of this pamphlet are its wide scope, which goes beyond the specific Croatian situation, and the demonstrative confidence that Croatia can influence decision-making in Hungary. The idea of the special status of Croatia under the Hungarian Crown was based on an idea that Croatia was not conquered and incorporated by Hungary, but submitted voluntarily to the Hungarian Crown (i.e. to the king, but not to the kingdom) in exchange for acknowledgement of its traditional laws and customs. As a part of Croatian self-understanding this concept is evident in many official documents throughout Croatia's history and was most apparent on occasions of independent decisions in the Croatian parliament. In the message to Emperor Ferdinand from 1527, shortly after they elected him the king of Croatia (independently of his election as the king of Hungary), the parliament writes: "no master has occupied Croatia by force and we have, after the demise of our last king named Zvonimir, of blessed memory, joined the Holy Crown of Hungary and after that, now, your majesty."²³ The same idea is also present in the parliamentary address to King Charles III (Emperor Charles VI) announcing the Croatian pragmatic sanction in 1712, more than a decade before the Hungarian diet accepted the new succession regulation: "The fact that we are a part of Hungary, cannot deter us from our preconceived benefit. For we are, as the laws declare, associated parts of Hungary, but not subjected ones [...] and no force and no bondage delivered us to the Hungarians, but we submitted ourselves, out of our free will, not to their kingdom, but to their king."²⁴ This concept was for centuries accepted in praxis both by the kings and by the Hungarian and Croatian nobility, as the long-lasting persistence of particular institutions, offices, parliament, laws and administration of Croatia proves. Only in 1708 was it for the first time challenged, without success, by the Hungarian diet. Starting from the 1790s, however, it would face unceasing, increasingly fierce opposition from the Hungarian estates, who were not only keen on widening their influence on Croatia in order to enforce reforms and consolidate the nation, but saw in the Croatian claims, if they were to be acknowledged, a dangerous

23 "Nullus dominus potencia mediante Croaciam occupasset, nisi post discessum nostri quondam ultimi regis Zwonymer dicti felicis recordacionis, libero arbitrio se coadiunximus circa sacram coronam regni Hungarie, et post hoc, nunc, erga maiestatem vestram." *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* [Parliamentary proceedings of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia], ed. by F. Šišić, vol. 1 (Zagreb 1912), 99.

24 "Non deterreat nos a praeconcepto nostro commodo, quod pars simus Hungariae. Partes quidem sumus, uti leges loquuntur, annexae Hungariae, non autem subditi [...] nullaque vis, nulla captiuitas nos Hungaris addixit, sed spontanea nostra ultroneaque voluntate non quidem Regno, verum eorundem Regi nosmet subiecimus." *Jura regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* [Rights of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia], ed. by J. Kukuljević, vol. 2 ([Zagrabiae] 1862), 106.

weapon which could stop even the reforms in Hungary proper on a whim of backward Croatian gentry. As the Croatian argumentation was based on the interpretation of history, both sides subsequently turned to interpretation of medieval sources.²⁵ Central for Croatian argumentation were the so-called *pacta conventa*, a mid-fourteenth-century addition to the text of Thomas Archidiaconus's *Historia Salonitana*, in which an alleged contract between the Hungarian King Coloman and the Croatian nobles is quoted. The *pacta conventa* is now generally considered a late medieval fabrication, but even the undisputed sources give no clear picture of the legal frame of the original unification of the two kingdoms.²⁶

Croatia's status as a separate legal and political entity under the Holy Crown was the basis for the asserted inviolability of its municipal rights. This term denoted Croatia's special privileges and the laws its parliament issued for the country, which received their legitimacy both from the long-lasting tradition (from history) and from the royal confirmation (from the higher level of the legislature). The character of these rights was symbolic, economic and political in a stricter sense. The main rights included the right to use the official title and the heraldic attributes of a kingdom, to be represented at the Hungarian diet and have Croatian issues treated separately by the diet, to pay taxes at only half of the Hungarian tax rate and to keep Protestants from settling in Croatia.²⁷

Croatia had twofold representation at the Hungarian diet. Croatian magnates, bishops and the *supremi comites* of Croatian and Slavonian counties sat in the upper house, where they in theory represented only their particular

25 C. I. P. von Sermage, *Die ursprüngliche Vereinigung der Königreiche Croatien, Dalmatien und Slavonien mit der Krone Ungarns* (Vienna 1836); G. Fejer, *Croatiae ac Slavoniae cum regno Hungariae nexus et relationes* [The connection and the relations of Croatia and Slavonia with the Kingdom of Hungary] ([Budaë] 1839); S. von Horvát, *Über Kroatien als eine durch Unterjochung erworbene ungarische Provinz* (Leipzig 1844); G. Gyurikovits, *De situ et ambitu Slavoniae et Croatiae* [On the location and extension of Slavonia and Croatia] ([Pestini] 1844); *Das Verhältnis Croatiens zu Ungarn* (Leipzig 1846); *Responsa ad vastum illud: Croatiae ac Slavoniae cum regno Hungariae nexus et relationes* [Responses to that monstrosity: The connection and the relations of Croatia and Slavonia with the Kingdom of Hungary] ([Zagrabiae] 1847).

26 H. Jurčić, "Die sogenannten 'Pacta conventa' in kroatischer Sicht," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 1 (1969), 11–22. On dating and background cf. now I. Majnarić, *Srednje i niže plemstvo u širem zadarskom zaleđu od polovice XIV. do polovice XV stoljeća* [Middle and lower nobility in the wider Hinterland of Zadar from mid-14th to mid-15th centuries]. PhD diss. (Univ. of Zagreb 2012), 255–276.

27 J. Kušević, *De municipalibus juribus et statutis regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae* [On the municipal rights and statutes of the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia] ([Zagrabiae] 1830).

interests. The Ban of Croatia, also a member of the upper house and of the regency council, was considered to hold the third rank behind the palatine and the chief justice. In the lower house, the Slavonian counties, but not the Croatian ones, had their delegates among the delegates of Hungarian counties.²⁸ The free royal cities and the Catholic clergy of Croatia were also represented, but had, jointly with all their Hungarian counterparts, only one common vote for the cities and one for the clergy together.

In addition to this direct representation of diverse individuals and entities, Croatia also sent three special delegates, one to the upper house (this was Skerlec's role in 1790) and two to the lower house, to represent the Croatian Kingdom as a whole, as well as the Croatian protonotary, the highest-ranking Croatian representative in the lower house, who was a member of the so-called *tabula regia*, the Supreme Court, and presented Croatian *gravamina*, the grievances, to the diet and the king. In accordance with the Croatian supposition that Croatia and Hungary were equals under the Holy Hungarian Crown, the votes of these delegates should in theory have been able to block any decision of the diet, which ran contrary to Croatian interests, thus balancing the numerical inferiority of other Croatian representatives. This right, to which Skerlec alluded at the end of the declaration, was, however, generally not acknowledged by the Hungarian estates, and in praxis amounted to a mere right to register a protest against the vote of the majority and then seek support from the conservative magnates in the upper house of the diet or, increasingly in the 1830s, appeal to the king to reject the majority's proposal.

On 4 September 1790, in the joint session of both houses, the diet debated the article of the proposed coronation diploma, which provided for an introduction of Hungarian as the official language. Despite the speeches by Ban Erdődy and Bishop Verhovacz reiterating Croatian arguments in favour of retaining Latin, the majority approved the article.²⁹ According to this draft of the law, the king would introduce no foreign language in the kingdom and would preserve the Hungarian language, which he would also learn. The laws and courts would still be in Latin, but the administration would switch to Hungarian as soon as it was feasible, although Croatia and the Slavic counties of Upper Hungary would have an option to keep using their native language and, in official business, Latin. Finally, Hungarian would be included in the school and academic curricula.³⁰

28 On the special status of Slavonia, see below.

29 *Diarium 1790/1791*, 139–140.

30 *Authentica versio diarii Hungarici auctoritate comitiarum regni procurata* [The authentic version of the Hungarian proceedings, provided by the authority of the diet] ([Pozonium] 1791), 153–154.

This program, however, was not accepted by the court. Councillor József Izdenczy (1733–1811), a member of the Hungarian royal chancellery, used partly the same arguments as the Croatian declaration and warned repeatedly that the introduction of Hungarian, a minority language, would lead to troubles and hatred among the heterogeneous population of Hungary.³¹ As his view prevailed, the diet had to accept the text proposed by the chancellery: the king would not introduce any foreign language, but the administration would remain in Latin “for the time being”; Hungarian would only be introduced as an optional subject in higher schools, academies and university.³²

After officially receiving the royal articles, the Croatian parliament decided to employ a teacher of Hungarian at the Zagreb academy, but at the same time demanded that Illyrian, i.e. Slavic, also be introduced in education, not only in Croatia but also in Hungary proper, where it was very widespread.³³ This was a demonstrative display of self-confidence in line with the ideological thrust of the declaration, which implied equality for the status of the Hungarian and Slavic vernaculars on the basis of a large number of Slavic speakers in Hungary, while reserving the privileged role of the official, constitutional language for Latin. The term ‘Illyrian’ in this context probably meant Slavic in general, downplaying for the sake of numerical argument the differences between different Slavic vernaculars.³⁴ However, the political class in Croatia had no real interest in exchanging Latin for a Slavic vernacular, despite periodically resorting exactly to such a threat, if pressed hard by their Hungarian peers.³⁵ Latin was a part of the constitution consecrated by time and the eventual removal of this indispensable element could lead to an unravelling of the whole system of values and privileges known as the constitution.

The non-obligatory teaching of Hungarian, the only change in the language situation Croatia had to allow, did not prove especially popular. Despite repeated appeals of the Croatian authorities to the youth and their parents,³⁶ in the first 20 years after its introduction, on average only 6 of total of ca. 190

31 Gy. Szekfű, *Iratok a magyar államnyelv kérdésének történetéhez 1790–1848* [Documents on the history of the status of Hungarian as official language, 1790–1848] (Budapest 1926), 220–221, 225–226.

32 *Authentica versio*, 10–11.

33 *ZHS*, 9: 88.

34 The notion that the Slavic languages are mutually intelligible dialects of one Slavic language was repeatedly invoked as a discursive strategy in this period and persisted until the Slavic Congress in Prague in 1848. See A. Maxwell, *Choosing Slovakia: Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language and Accidental Nationalism* (London 2009), 95.

35 E.g. Maximilian Verhovacz during the diet of 1805. *ZHS*, 9: 327.

36 E.g. in 1802 (*ZHS*, 9: 299) and 1805 (*ZHS*, 9: 316).

students at the Zagreb academy frequented the classes.³⁷ In 1810 the new Hungarian teacher at the Zagreb academy tried to motivate the students to learn Hungarian by accompanying the announcement of his lessons with a Latin poem, in which he appealed to their—Hungarian—patriotism. His arguments reflected the view of the patriotic, language conscious Magyar public in Hungary: The love of the fatherland would urge the youth to start learning the *patria lingua*, i.e. Hungarian, more zealously. Whoever loved his fatherland should learn this language. The fatherland claimed what by right belonged to it, and that was not only their hearts and bodies but also their minds. The well-being of the realm, the glory and the law all demanded that the Croats be bound to the trusty Hungarians in this way.³⁸ The appeal was in vain: after a spike in the following year, the number of students fell again soon enough. The interest in Hungarian was generally very low. On the 64 pages listing the pre-subscribers whose financial commitment made the publication of József Márton's *Trilingual Latin-Hungarian-German lexicon* possible in 1818, one finds only 20 names from Croatia.³⁹ The attendance of Hungarian classes in schools and the academy increased markedly only in the 1820s, but, at around 10 per cent, it still remained relatively low. In 1831, in the Varaždin grammar school, only 28 of 288 students studied Hungarian.⁴⁰ The Croatian parliament realised that optional instruction had not brought about the desired effect of creating a big enough pool of candidates for positions in joint authority, where the knowledge of Hungarian was needed to secure the interests of the Croatian nobility. Under pressure from the diet, where the lack of progress in this field was interpreted as a break of promises on the Croatian side, in 1827 the parliament for the first time declared its resolution to introduce Hungarian as an obligatory subject into the Croatian educational system,⁴¹ but the implementation

37 L. Dobronić, *Zagrebacka akademija / Academia Zagrabiensis* [Academy of Zagreb] (Zagreb 2004), 211–213.

38 S. R[acz], *Nuncium et ordo praelectionum Linguae, et literaturae Hungaricae in regia scientiarum academia Zagrabienſi pro anno scholastico 1810/11* [Announcement and schedule of the lessons of Hungarian language and literature in the royal academy of sciences in Zagreb for the school year 1810/11] ([Zagreb 1810]).

39 J. Márton, *Lexicon trilingue Latino-Hungarico-Germanicum* ([Viennae] 1818). The Croatian subscribers are listed with others in the last appendix to the second volume: "A' Lexiconok kiadását segítő magyar hazafiak nevei felsorolása" [The names of the Hungarian patriots who supported the publication of the lexicons], 53.

40 A. Cuvaj, *Grada za povijest školstva kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije od najstarijih vremena do danas* [Materials for the history of education of the kingdoms Croatia and Slavonia from the oldest times to the present], vol. 2 (Zagreb 1910), 342–343.

41 *ZHS*, 9: 59–60.

started only in 1832. The compulsory teaching was even less popular and provoked resentment and passive resistance among the pupils.⁴²

The language question was only one of the contested issues between Croatia and Hungary in the period before the Revolution of 1848.⁴³ Aside from the already mentioned fundamental controversy over the nature of the relation between the two kingdoms, the conflicts repeatedly arose concerning the rights of the Protestants and the status of Slavonia and Fiume/Rijeka.

Protestants were barred from buying property and holding office in Croatia since 1608, when the Croatian parliament, alarmed by the religiously motivated conflicts in Hungary and Transylvania, sought to prevent inner strife by enforcing confessional unity.⁴⁴ While the Hungarian estates demanded confessional equality in the name of progress and the spirit of the age, the Croatian nobility defended not only the general idea of the municipal rights, but also kept the Magyar Protestants from obtaining public offices, as they were partly economically dependent on the income they generated.⁴⁵

Regarding Slavonia,⁴⁶ the two kingdoms both laid claims to its territory with different historical arguments. In the wars of the late seventeenth century, the Habsburgs conquered it after more than 150 years of Ottoman occupation and kept it under joint civil-military administration. After a long period of lobbying by both Hungarian and Croatian estates for the reintegration under the Hungarian Crown, in 1745 Maria Theresa put the three Slavonian counties under the authority of the Ban of Croatia, while keeping a tract of land facing the Ottoman territory as a military borderland under direct rule of the War Council. The Slavonian counties were, however, constituted after the model

42 See e.g. I. Tkalac: *Jugenderinnerungen aus Kroatien (1749–1823, 1824–1843)* (Leipzig 1894), 181–182.

43 L. Heka: “Hrvatsko-Ugarski javnopravni Prijepori” [Croatian-Hungarian Debates on Public Law], *Zbornik pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu* 63 (2013), 1257–1292.

44 Kukuljević, *Jura regni*, 63, 68.

45 A. Pogany, *Tentamen demonstrationis trium propositionum* [Attempt to prove three propositions] ([Pestini, Budae ac Cassoviae] 1790). On Croatian arguments see the chapter by Z. Sikirić in the present volume.

46 The name Slavonia, or as the Croatian estates preferred to call it, “lower Slavonia” (*Slavonia inferior*), denoted in the 18th and 19th century (as it does now) the eastern part of the lands between the rivers Sava and Drava, while the western part, actually the territory once occupied by the medieval Kingdom of Slavonia, was called Croatia, a name that in the Middle Ages denoted only the territories south of the river Kupa. This shift in terms was caused by the Ottoman expansion, when all the western parts of Croatia and Slavonia still under Habsburg control were subsumed under the term Croatia, leaving the term Slavonia free for the occupied territory in the north-east.

of Hungarian counties and did not enjoy the Croatian privileges of a half tax rate and exemption from the billeting of troops. They sent their delegates to the Croatian parliament but also directly to the Hungarian diet. As both sides claimed sovereignty, they interpreted the historical affiliation of the territory differently.⁴⁷

The status of the city of Fiume was also disputed. In the eighteenth century, this Adriatic port was a part of the hereditary provinces of the House of Habsburg. In 1776, in order to provide Hungary and Croatia with a port and thus improve their economy through the possibility to export agricultural products, Maria Theresa ceded the city to the Croatian royal council. When this short-lived executive body for Croatia was abolished and its responsibilities transferred to the royal Hungarian regency council in 1779,⁴⁸ the ruler mandated that Fiume be administered as a *corpus separatum*. The vague wording allowed both the Croatian estates to claim the port as an integral part of Croatia, though separately administered, and the Hungarian estates to deny any special relation between Fiume and Croatia within the lands of the Holy Crown.⁴⁹

The language issue was the most intricate among the disputed issues, as it had not only a legal and political but also an emotional dimension. The diet diaries from the decades following 1790 show constant debate on this issue,⁵⁰

47 *Nota quoad inferiorem Slavoniam et in eadem existentes tres comitatus Verocensem olim Valko dictum, Poseganum et Sirmiensem* [Note concerning lower Slavonia and the three counties in it, Verocze, once called Valko, Posega and Syrmium] ([Buda] 1790). Reprinted as *Fundamenta quibus ostenditur tres inferioris Sclavoniae comitatus semper ad iurisdictionem regni et bani Sclavoniae pertinuisse* [Groundwork showing that the three counties of lower Slavonia always belonged under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom and Banus of Croatia] ([Zagrabiae] 1832). Lj. Farkaš Vukotinović, *Regni Slavoniae erga Hungariam legalis correlatio* [Legal relation of the Kingdom of Slavonia towards Hungary] ([Zagrabiae] 1845). On the administration of Slavonia, see I. Horberc, "Slavonske županije između Banske Hrvatske i Mađarske: Uspostava civilne uprave i pitanje poreznog sustava u 18. stoljeću" [Slavonia between civilian Croatia and Hungary: The establishment of civil administration and the issue of the tax system], *Arhivski vjesnik* 53 (2010), 177–196.

48 *Consilium regium Croaticum* was established only in 1767 in order to bypass the estates' opposition to absolutist rule.

49 L. Szalay, *Fiume a magyar országyűlésen* [Fiume in the Hungarian diet] (Pest 1861). F. Rački, *Rieka prama Hrvatskoj* [Rijeka in its relation towards Croatia] (Zagreb 1867), Ger. trans.: *Fiume gegenüber von Croatien* (Agram 1869).

50 The diaries are however not always a completely reliable source on this issue. Due to the complexity of the connected questions of jurisdiction, the debates on the introduction of Hungarian in Croatia were sometimes omitted from the diary altogether. See e.g. *Diarium comitorum regni Hungariae 1825–1827*, 2 vols. ([Posonii] 1825–1827), 2: 122: After an intense discussion a delegate from Nitra advised the house to proceed as in 1811 and

interrupted only by the crisis of the Napoleonic wars and by the lack of a parliamentary arena in the period of absolutist rule after Napoleon's defeat.

As the pressure from the Magyar gentry in the language question was sustained, the Croatian parliament sought a way to safeguard Latin's position. In 1805, after another determined attempt of the lower house of the diet towards the expansion of Hungarian, which was blocked by the upper house, the Croatian parliament passed a resolution explicitly prohibiting "forever the use of Hungarian or any other language except Latin in the administrative or juridical matters of these kingdoms," citing Latin's historical role in Croatia and its cultural importance.⁵¹ As this resolution became law through the royal confirmation, Latin's place among the *iura municipalia*, hitherto justified only by historical arguments, achieved definite legal status.

By 1807 the Croatian estates concentrated on defending Croatian interests only, having already given up on solidarity with the non-Magyar peoples of Hungary proper, and conceded to the Hungarians the right to abolish Latin in Hungary as long as they left Croatia alone.⁵² The delegates of the Hungarian counties, who represented the language-conscious Magyar gentry and dominated the lower house of the diet, were not satisfied with this. Not willing to concede Croatia special status in the language question, they regularly renewed their attempts at the diets of 1811, 1825–1827 and 1830. While the Croatian delegates resisted vigorously,⁵³ it was the upper house of the diet⁵⁴ and the Hungarian chancellery working in interest of the Habsburg court,

not record the current debate. In addition to that, the redactors of the diary could and did let their bias slip into the minutes: in 1826, the Croatian protonotary Josephus Kussevich / Josip Kušević felt obliged to print the speech he had given at the diet separately, as it was "partly truncated, partly changed to the opposite of the speakers intention" in the diary. J. Kussevich, *Sermo magistri Josephi Kussevich* [...] in comitiali sessione 26. Februarii 1826. *pronunciatus* [Oration of magister Josephus Kussevich, given at the diet session of 26 Feb. 1826] ([Zagrabiae] [1826]), 8. Cf. the version in the diary: *Diarium 1825–1827*, 2: 100–103.

51 "ne in Regnis his eorundemque seu negotiis seu iuridicis seu politicis ullo unquam tempore linguae Hungariae aut cuiuscumque alterius praeter solam Latinam usus fiat." *ZHS*, 9: 316.

52 See the report on the discussion of 29 Oct. 1807 in M. Vrhovac, *Dnevnik. Diarium. Svezak I (1801–1809)*, 250.

53 See e.g. the discussions at the diet of 1825–1827, *Diarium 1825–1827*, 1: 629–637; 2: 99–127.

54 On the inner working of the Hungarian diet see L. Révész, *Die Anfänge des ungarischen Prlamentarismus* (Munich 1968), 23–70; I. M. Szijártó, "The Diet: The Estates and the Parliament of Hungary, 1708–1792," in *Bündnispartner und Konkurrenten des Landesfürsten? Die Stände in der Habsburgermonarchie*, ed. by G. Ammerer et al. (Vienna and Munich 2007), 119–139.

which actually delayed or blocked the demands of the nationally-minded Magyar gentry. However, the Croatian resistance was important, as it offered the upper house and the chancellery a pretext for blocking or delaying the demands of the Magyar gentry, with which they were uncomfortable anyway. Correspondingly, the Hungarian demands increasingly forced the Croatian estates to seek protection from the Viennese court, estranging them ever more from their erstwhile allies against absolutism. As most ministers in Vienna saw the Hungarian desire for linguistic unity on the one hand as a threatening sign of separatism and on the other as interconnected with radical ideas of democracy, they were generally disposed to support Croatian resistance against the reform course of the Hungarian opposition.⁵⁵

In the early 1830s a new element entered Croatian politics: the native language. Among the groups of students from Croatia and Slavonia in Zagreb, Graz, Vienna and Pest, and among young lawyers, so-called *jurati*, who were obliged to gather experience by accompanying the delegates to the diet as secretaries, developed new enthusiasm for their native Slavic. Inspired by the Hungarian example and nurtured by ideas of German romanticism and the rise of Slavic studies and consciousness, they discussed the ways to improve and advance their native language and to elevate it to the status of the national language.⁵⁶ As a logical consequence of the new ethnolinguistic concepts seeping into the political discourse, a national movement developed in Croatia.

The first wave of actions and publications propagating the importance of the native language had already taken place when the Croatian parliament convened in 1832 to give instructions for the Croatian delegates to the diet, a session in which the estates took a firm stance against the expected new onslaught of Magyarisation, formulating again the insistence on Latin as the official language.

In 1830 Ljudevit Gaj (Ludwig Gay), the *spiritus rector* of the student circles, the future leader and the chief propagandist of the national movement, proposed a new and unified orthography for Slavic vernaculars used in the Croatian and Slovene lands.⁵⁷ Inspired by Czech orthography, Gaj's intention was not

55 Szekfű, *Iratok*, 105–120; Gy. Miskolczy, *A horvát kérdés története és irományai a rendi állam korában* [The history and documents of the Croatian question in the age of the estates], 2 vols. (Budapest 1927), 1: 267–270 and 320.

56 Lj. Vukotinić, "Uspomena na godine 1833–1835" [The memory of the years 1833–1835], in *Ilirska Antologija. Književni dokumenti hrvatskog preporoda* [Illyrian anthology. Literary documents of the Croatian revival], ed. by S. Ježić (Zagreb 1934), 159–164, here 160–161. The text was originally published as a newspaper article in 1885.

57 L. G.[aj], *Kratka osnova Horvatsko-Slavenskoga pravopisaña | Kurzer Entwurf einer kroatisch-slawischen Orthographie* ([Budim/Ofen] 1830). The text was printed parallelly in Croatian and German.

only to establish a standard for different southern Slavic variants spoken in the Habsburg Empire, and especially in the triune kingdom and in Dalmatia (which would simplify and promote the use of the native language), but also, in accordance with Ján Kollár's pan-Slavic concept of 'Slavic reciprocity',⁵⁸ to facilitate cultural exchange between Slavs in general.

In late 1831, Matija Smodek, freshly returned from studies in Pest, offered for the first time optional lectures on the Croatian language (in Latin) at the Zagreb Academy. The announcement provoked a sizable scandal, followed by fistfights between Croatian and Hungarian students.⁵⁹ Early the following year, one of the troublemakers, Joannes Derkooz / Ivan Derkos, published his *Genius of the fatherland above his sleeping sons or the patriotic folio for the inhabitants of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, to excite the zeal for cultivating the native language*.⁶⁰ This Latin pamphlet already combined the usual political demands, the call for the unification of the Croatian lands, the insistence on the municipal rights (and the retention of Latin as one of them), with a call to bolster the nation by improving the native language, and the proposal to achieve this by standardising different dialects spoken in Croatia on the basis of the most widely spoken one.

This first wave of propaganda found its pinnacle, and at the same time entrance into the high politics of Croatia, when the magnate count Janko Drašković published his programmatic text *Dissertation or discourse donated to the lawful delegates and future legislators of our kingdoms sent to the future Hungarian diet*.⁶¹ Drašković, a scion of one of the leading families in Croatia

58 N. Stančić, "Ideja o 'slavenskoj uzajamnosti' Jána Kollára i njezina hrvatska recepcija" [Jan Kollár's idea of "Slavic reciprocity" and its reception in Croatia], *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 30 (1997), 65–76.

59 F. Kurelac, *Fluminensia ili koječega na Rěci izgovorenâ, spěvanâ, prevedenâ i nasnovanâ* [Fluminensia, or diverse things said, sung, translated and dreamt up in Rijeka] (Zagreb 1862), 182–185.

60 J. Derkooz, *Genius patriae super dormientibus suis filiis, seu folium patrioticum, pro incolis regnorum Croatiae, Dalmatiae, et Slavoniae in excitandum, excolendae linguae patriae studium* ([Zagrabiae] 1832), repub. in *Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo*, 274–296, Ger. trans. in A. P. Maissen, *Wie ein Blitz schlägt es aus meinem Mund. Der Illyrismus: Die Hauptschriften der kroatischen Nationalbewegung 1830–1844* (Bern 1998), 138–172.

61 [J. Drašković], *Disertatia ili Razgovor darovan gospodi poklisárom zakonskim y buduchjem zakonotvorzem kraljevinah nasih za buduchu dietu ungarsku odaslanem* (Karlovac 1832). Two years later, he also published a German translation: *Erinnerungen an die zum ungarischen Reichstag bestimmten Deputirten der Königreiche Kroatien und Slavonien* (Leipzig 1834). The Croatian version is edited in *Programski spisi hrvatskog narodnog preporoda* [Programmatic writings of the Croatian national revival], ed. by M. Šicel (Zagreb 1997), 55–81, modern Ger. trans. in Maissen, *Wie ein Blitz*, 189–214.

and already a sexagenarian, had a different stature than the young enthusiasts, and his authority opened the way for their ideas into the political mainstream. His work is the first purely political text in Croatia written in the vernacular. Drašković chose to write in the vernacular in order to demonstrate “that we do have a national language, in which it is possible to express everything that the heart and head desires.” He wanted to make the ‘national language’ official in Croatia, while keeping Latin only as a means of communication in the common institutions of Hungary and Croatia.⁶² His *Dissertation* sketches out a political ‘reunification’ programme, which includes not only the military Borderlands and Rijeka, but also Bosnia, and even Carniola and Styria, inhabited by Slavs speaking “Croato-Slovene.”⁶³ The basis for the unification is not found in historico-legal arguments. These are also important, but only for the upkeep of the Croatian autonomy towards Hungary. The justification for the unification is provided by the common language, still fragmented, in Drašković’s eyes, into two dialects, and by the common origin, which he finds in ancient ‘Great Illyria.’

The cultivation of the native language was sporadically advocated in Croatia even before Drašković and his young friends. Among their predecessors, for example, was Bishop Verhovacz, who had been fighting since 1790 for the use of Latin and was the opinion leader of the Croatian estates until his death in 1827. In 1813 he called upon the priests of his diocese to start gathering vernacular cultural goods, manuscripts, poems, tales and folklore of Slavonia and Croatia, already showing the romantic interest in folk literature and language.⁶⁴ In the same year, Ivan Nepomuk Bužan, in the foreword of his Croatian vernacular manuscript “History of the Hungarian Kings,” justified his demand to introduce the Croatian language into the administration with the benefits this would bring through increased communication and understanding with other Slavs.⁶⁵ Two years later, in 1815, Antun Mihanović (Antonius Mihanovich) published a pamphlet titled *A word to the fatherland on the benefit of writing in the native language*, in which he commended the cultivation of the vernacular from a largely enlightened position and for the first time in the Croatian intellectual history identified Latin as a problem:

62 [Drašković], *Disertatia*, 3, 9–10.

63 [Drašković], *Disertatia*, 8, [24].

64 Printed in *Dokumenti za naše podrijetlo*, 60–62.

65 I. N. Bužan, *Predgovor* [Foreword], edited in F. Fancev, “Sitni prilozi za povijest Hrvatske književnosti” [Short contributions to the history of the Croatian literature], in *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske* [Materials for the literary history of Croatia], ed. by F. Fancev (Zagreb 1932), 211–253, here 231–232.

Without a doubt, the main disadvantage is that the public affairs are conducted in a foreign language, and hence arises the bigger need to learn this one than to elevate the native one. Add to this that future officials are taught all subjects in a language completely different from the native one.⁶⁶

However, only in the 1830s did the native language, as a sign and embodiment of the imagined common ancestry and cultural background, become a defining element of the national identity. But which language? While it was relatively easy to conclude that the unifying language of *Hungaria* should be the *lingua Hungara*, i.e. Magyar, the language of the greatest part of the politically dominant gentry, the question was much more difficult to answer in the Kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia: Croatian? Slavonian? Slavic? Croato-Slavic, Croato-Slavonian, Dalmatian? Not only the names that the inhabitants used for their native vernaculars differed widely, the linguistic situation was also complicated. In the Kingdom of Croatia and in Dalmatia three very distinct Slavic vernaculars were in use. In the centre of Croatian political life, the three Croatian counties in the north-west, a variant similar to that spoken by the Slavs in the Austrian hereditary provinces of Carniola, Styria and Carinthia was most widespread, now classified as a dialect of Croatian called Kajkavian.⁶⁷ Under 'Croatian,' the contemporaries mostly understood this variant. In parts of southern Croatia and in parts of Dalmatia, another variant, also called

66 "Prez dvojimbe, perva pachka je da obchinzki poszli vu ztranzkom jeziku obavlyajusze, y tak potrebocha veksha takvoga vuchitisze, nego domorodnoga izdignuti naztaje. Szim zpada, da y vszi navuki buduchem poszlenikom vu jeziku od domorodnoga chizto razluchnom prednashajusze." [A. Mihanovich], *Rech domovini od hasznovitosti pisanja vu domorodnom jeziku* ([Bech] 1815), 9. The text is edited in *Programski spisi*, 38–49. Reprints of the original were published in Zagreb in 1985 and 2012. On Mihanović's inspiration see T. Matić, "Mihanovičeva "Reč domovini o hasnovitosti pisanja vu domorodnom jeziku" [Mihanović's "A word to the fatherland on the benefit of writing in the native language"]", *Historijski zbornik* 2 (1949), 177–183.

67 The current commonly used terms 'Kajkavski,' 'Čakavski' and 'Štokavski' were coined after the characteristic form of the interrogative pronoun. Sporadically used already in the early 19th century (e.g. "Kékavac" for the Croat using the pronoun "kaj" instead of "šta" in V. Stefanović, *Srpski rječnik* [Serbian Dictionary] [Vienna 1818], 302), these terms entered literary and linguistic debates only in the early 1840s (e.g. P. J. Šafařík, *Slowanský národopis* [Slavic ethnography] [Prague 1842], 54; A. Mažuranić, "Zakon Vinodolski od léta 1280" [Law of Vinodol from 1280], *Kolo* 3 [1843], 50–97, here 90–91), and dominated it from the 1850s on. In 1846, however, an Illyrian journal still had to explain these terms to readers from the military borderlands, who were unfamiliar with them. See "Izjasnjenje" [Explanation], *Danica* 12 (1846), 153–154.

‘Croatian’ or ‘Slavic’ was spoken, now called the Čakavian dialect. The vernacular of Slavonia, now called Štokavian, was in most respects similar to that of the Serbs and to those spoken in Bosnia, Montenegro and parts of Dalmatia. These three variants were sometimes considered languages of their own, sometimes dialects of the universal Slavic language or sub-dialects of the southern Slavic dialect of Slavic. Slavic philology, which had its heyday in the first part of the nineteenth century, though proposing a number of different taxonomies,⁶⁸ could not provide an objective basis for this decision, as the classification of particular languages within the Slavic (or any other) linguistic continuum and the differentiation between a language and a dialect was ultimately a political statement and only superficially based on linguistic criteria.⁶⁹

Derkos and Drašković endorsed the widespread vernacular used in Slavonia, the military borderlands and Dalmatia as the basis for the new national language.⁷⁰ The numerical argument spoke in its favour, especially as it offered the possibility of culturally integrating the Serbs. Moreover, the new national language could claim the rich and prestigious literary production from the former republic of Dubrovnik as its inheritance. By 1836, Gaj would also switch the language of his newspaper, published in Zagreb since 1835, from the local vernacular to this new ‘common’ language, making a decisive step towards the establishment of the new standard.

The aim of the new national movement was not just linguistic unification within the Croatian Kingdom, but the cultural unity of all southern Slavs.

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- 68 See N. Stančić, “Svehrvatska ideja Ljudevita Gaja: Slika hrvatske povijesti ranog srednjeg vijeka u ideologiji pripremnog razdoblja hrvatskog narodnog preporoda” [Ljudevit Gaj’s all-Croatian idea. The concept of the Croatian History of the early Middle ages in the preparatory period of the Croatian national revival], *Starine* 62 (2004), 99–133; and Stančić, “Ideja o ‘slavenskoj uzajamnosti,’” 73–74.
- 69 T. Kamusella, “Classifying the Slavic Languages, or the Politics of Classification,” in *Language and History, Linguistics and Historiography. Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by N. Langer et al. (Oxford 2012), 147–174; A. Maxwell, “Why the Slovak Language Has Three Dialects: A Case Study in Historical Perceptual Dialectology,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 37 (2006), 385–414.
- 70 Drašković contrasted this variant, which he termed Illyrian, to a “mixed dialect,” used in the Austrian hereditary provinces and in the three Croatian counties. On the history and process of language standardisation in Croatia, see Z. Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika* [Following the pathways of the Croatian literary language], 2nd ed. (Zagreb 1990); M. Samardžija, *Norme i normiranje hrvatskoga standardnoga jezika* [Norms and norming of the Croatian standard language] (Zagreb 1999). B. Oczkova, *Chorvaci i ich język. Z dziejów kodyfikacji normy literackiej* [Croats and their language. From the history of the codification of a literary norm] (Cracow 2006; Croat. trans.: Zagreb 2010).

The proponents knew how deeply rooted the already existing regional, legal, and religious identities were. A Styrian Slav would not readily accept the name 'Croat' for the sake of unity, nor would the Croat's pride allow him to be called a Serb, and so on. In order to create an identity overarching the old, historically solidified identities, the proponents of South Slavic national unity chose both for the common language and for the unified nation the neutral name 'Illyrian,' by which their movement (and later their political party) would also be known.⁷¹ The name of the ancient inhabitants of the Balkans and of the Roman province was used throughout the early modern period indiscriminately for the whole area or its parts; it could be used for the Slovenes in Napoleon's Illyrian provinces and for the Serbs in Banat. Besides neutrality, it also offered another advantage: it reinforced the assertion of Slavic autochthony in the region and gave the Slavs prestigious roots in classical antiquity. The old Illyrians were presented as Slavs, and the Croats and Serbs either as their direct descendants, or as the Slavic tribes that merged with the Slavic Illyrians after helping them free themselves from the Avars.⁷²

Switching to a new common language demanded a major effort from the speakers of other variants. Among the prominent Illyrians, only a few were native speakers of their newly chosen standard, Slavonians and Serbs from the military borderlands. The majority of leading Illyrians were actually native Kajkavians, while some were originally even using German as their vernacular before learning 'Illyrian,' and some chief proponents had a Slovene or Slovak background. They all underwent a language change for ideological reasons, hoping to achieve the cultural unity and the numerical advantage it promised.⁷³

71 D. Rakovac, *Mali katekizam za velike ljude* [Little catechism for big people] (Zagreb 1842), 130–131.

72 Rakovac, *Mali katekizam*, 131; [B. Šulek], *Šta namjeravaju iliri* [What do the Illyrians intend?] ([Biograd] 1844), 9–14. On the earlier uses of the term "Illyrian," see R. Lauer, "Genese und Funktion des illyrischen Idologems in den südslawischen Literaturen (16. bis Anfang 19. Jahrhunderts)," in *Ethnogenese und Staatsbildung in Südosteuropa*, ed. by K.-D. Grothusen (Göttingen 1974), 116–143; Z. Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illyrism] (Zagreb 2008); Z. Blažević, "Indetermi-Nation: Narrative identity and symbolic politics in early modern Illyrism," in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. by B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (Leiden, Boston 2010), 203–223.

73 Ivan Derkos, Janko Drašković, Ljudevit Gaj, Ljudevit Vukotinović and Dragutin Rakovac originally spoke and wrote in the variant of the three Croatian counties, Petar Preradović and Dragojla Jarnević, in German. See K. Novak, "What Can Language Biographies Reveal about Multilingualism in the Habsburg Monarchy? A Case Study on the Members of the Illyrian Movement," *Jezikoslovlje* 13 (2012), 395–417. Stanko Vraz was a Styrian Slovene,

However, not everyone was ready to sacrifice his Croatian cultural identity and his 'true' Croatian language, and the Illyrians were confronted with accusations of betraying their Nation, turning Croats into Serbs or Slovenes.⁷⁴ The Croatian name became for a time a denomination for cultural and linguistic particularism of the three Croatian counties, and the pro-Hungarian political opposition mobilised against the Illyrians by claiming to defend precisely the Croatian identity and language.

While discarding a separate Croatian cultural identity, the Illyrians endorsed Croatian political institutions and traditions. As one of them put it, "in the political sense, Illyrism is nothing... Croatism, on the other hand, is our political life."⁷⁵ They clearly saw the advantages of continuing the struggle for municipal rights, as the autonomous Croatia provided a legal and territorial basis for the realisation of the ethnolinguistic consolidation and cultural 'revival' of the southern Slavic nation. After Drašković's earlier vague musings on political unification with the Slovene lands, they gave up any wider political schemes and restricted themselves to fiercely demanding the reunification of Croatian lands, thus picking up an old demand of the Croatian estates.

The territorial dividedness and the demand for unity were a constant element of Croatian political consciousness for centuries. Even the name of the country itself was a constant reminder of this: the kingdoms of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. Dalmatia, lost to the Republic of Venice in the Middle Ages, came under Habsburg rule after the fall of the Republic and the short Napoleonic interlude, but was kept under Austrian administration and not

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- Bogoljub Šulek, a Slovak. The language change was often accompanied by nationalising one's name (e.g. Ludwig Gay changed to Ljudevit Gaj or Ignaz Fuchs to Vatroslav Lisinski).
- 74 [Šulek], *Šta namjeravaju iliri*, 123–124. Gabriel Špišić, a proponent of the Croatian particularism, begins his invective against Illyrians so: "Čhujte Lyudi čujte čudnovate ztvari / Kakse vu Zagrebu Narodnozt sad Kvari / Sabralise jesu nekteri Horvati / Koji za to Ime ništa netu znati / Neg' se prekerztili jesv na Illire / Y tak odztupili od prave svoje Vire [Hear, people, hear a wondrous thing, how the nation is being corrupted in Zagreb nowadays: Some Croats have gathered, who don't want to hear of this name no more, but they re-baptised themselves as Illyrians and thus stepped away from their true faith]. Hrvatski državni arhiv (HDA, Croatian State Archives), Zagreb, manuscript 489. While the adversaries associated the new language with the Serbs, the term 'Illyrian' invoked for them the Kingdom of Illyria, an administrative unit comprising Carniola and Carinthia, both inhabited by Slovenes.
- 75 "ilirismus je dakle u smislu političkom ništa...Kroatizam s druge strane je život naš politički." Lj. Vukotinović, "Ilirisam i kroatizam" [Illyrism and Croatism], in *Programski spisi*, 139–146, here 139–140.

integrated into the Croatian Kingdom or the Hungarian Crown.⁷⁶ Slavonia was by the end of the seventeenth century conquered by the Habsburgs, but the integration of this territory in the Croatian Kingdom remained incomplete, giving room to Hungarian claims on the territory. Even Croatia proper had lost territory to the Ottomans, and the western parts of Bosnia were still known as Turkish Croatia at the time. To this must be added large parts of the nominally Croatian and Slavonian territory, which were kept under military rule as defensive borderlands against the Ottoman Empire, and Rijeka with its contested status. Similar to Hungary, where the dividedness was also a forming factor of the political consciousness of the class-based *Natio Hungarica*, the Croatian estates saw themselves as the embodiment of the nation and the bearers of national unity, which was still to be regained in the territorial sense.

The different scope of the political and cultural concepts of the Illyrians led to a discrepancy of the national space in an ethnolinguistic and political-legal sense. The new concept of the Illyrian nation postulated the cultural reunification of a somewhat ill-defined but at any rate much wider space than the demands of political reunification inherited from the Croatian estates. Hampered by this inconsistency of their ideology and disappointed by the reaction of Serbs and Slovenes, who, with a few exceptions, rejected the idea of giving up their identity for the higher good of unity, the Illyrians started concentrating more on Croatian issues. In the end, their movement did make a crucial contribution to the forming of the modern Croatian national identity by, on the one hand, establishing a linguistic standard which was to become the Croatian literary language and, on the other hand, by achieving for the first time political mass mobilisation on an ethnolinguistic basis.⁷⁷

Through Illyrian endorsement of the native language, the role of Latin changed once again. In contrast to conservative noblemen like the old count Vojkffy, who, totally convinced of the inherent constitutional and educational value of the old language, still sang its praises in 1832,⁷⁸ the Illyrians took a nuanced view of Latin. Although they wanted to replace it with the national

76 See e.g. M. Gross, "The Union of Dalmatia with Northern Croatia: A Crucial Question of the Croatian National Integration in the Nineteenth Century," in *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, ed. by M. Teich and R. Porter (Cambridge 1993), 270–292.

77 How the Croat ethnolinguistic national identity developed from the failed Illyrian one after the galvanising events of 1848 is beyond the scope of this article, as Latin played no role in this process. For the crucial years 1850–1860, see M. Gross, *Počeci moderne Hrvatske. Neoapsolutizam u civilnoj Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1850–1860* [Beginnings of modern Croatia. Neo-absolutism in civil Croatia and Slavonia 1850–1860] (Zagreb 1985), 371–391.

78 See the chapter by Z. Sikirić in the present volume.

language in administration, and especially in education, and considered it just as pernicious to the national cause as Hungarian or German,⁷⁹ at the same time they also saw its usefulness as a tactical device for keeping Hungarian ambitions at bay. On the one hand, it would serve as the neutral means of political communication with Hungary, on the other, its role in Croatia was that of a placeholder for the national language that would be introduced sooner or later. As the Croatian delegate to the 1839 diet, Hermannus Busan / Herman Bužan, said in his speech:

Concerning the Latin language, in which all the laws and all our public and private documents and records necessary to preserve the rights of each and every family are written and kept, it is not to be neglected in any way and posterity must at any rate exert effort to learn it. But I have to add that the estates of the associated kingdoms want to preserve not so much this Latin language but rather their municipal right to determine the official language in which their public affairs are dealt with in their midst—the right which they exercised undisturbed from the time of the union with Hungary for over seven centuries—and to reserve for themselves the possibility to replace the Latin idiom with their own national language to the extent and time of their own choosing (which would no longer be so easy achievable, once the Hungarian language is introduced as official amongst us).⁸⁰

79 I. Kukuljević, “Prvi od davnina zastupnički govor na hrvatskom jeziku koji je održao Ivan Kukuljević 2. svibnja 1843. u Hrvatskom saboru” [First delegate’s speech in the Croatian language since the ancient times, held by Ivan Kukuljević on 2 May 1843 in the Croatian parliament], in *Programski spisi*, 158.

80 “Quod vero linguam latinam concernit, subjugendum habeo, ss. & oo. regnorum adnexorum, quamvis lingua latina, in qua omnes leges, omniaque publica et privata nostra documenta et literaria instrumenta, pro tuitione jurium cuiusvis familiae inevitabiliter necessaria prostant, & compilata habentur, prorsus negligenda non sit, quinimo culturae huius posteritas quoque inevitabiliter incumbere debeat; non tam linguam hanc latinam, quam proprium municipale jus, linguam officiosam, in qua in medio eorundem negotia publica tractantur, determinandi, inde a tempore conjunctionis cum Hungaria per septem et ultra saecula imperturbate praeexercitum, praesalvatum habere, sibi que facultatem, si et in quantum, dumve iisdem placuerit, propriam suam nationalem linguam idiomatico latino substituendi /:quodve ipsum, lingua hungarica iam semel apud nos pro officiosa introducta, haud amplius tam facile practicabile esset:/ reservare velle.” H. Bužan, *Oratio Hermanni Bužan, secundarii in Tabula Statuum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae ablegati* . . . 16. Julii 1839 servata [Speech of Hermannus Bužan, second delegate of the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia to the lower house of the diet . . . held on 16 July 1839]. HDA, manuscript 742.

In the opening days of the diet of 1843/44, the lower house of the diet, irritated by the Croatian delegates' insistence on using Latin, decided to ban the use of Latin speeches altogether. This decision, heavily contested by the Croatian authorities, caused a convoluted debate and process of negotiation among different parts of the court and bodies of the Hungarian administration.⁸¹ Although eventually a compromise was reached, by which the Croats were not required to switch to Hungarian immediately, this incident was symbolic of Latin losing its role as a medium of international political negotiation between the Croats and the Hungarians. Though Bogoljub Šulek in 1844 still lauded Latin as preferable to Hungarian and, for its cultural significance, second in importance only to the national language, its days as the official language were numbered.⁸² On 18 October 1847, in order to forestall further Hungarian designs concerning the language question, the Croatian parliament decided to declare as the official language, without specifying its name, the "national language, which is one of the principal national characteristics and the principal agency of national identity, the biggest treasure of any nation."⁸³

81 See the detailed presentation of the reactions and complicated deliberations following the decision of 20 June 1843 in Szekfű, *Iratok*, 549–552; and Miskolczy, *A horvát kérdés*, 2: 51–170.

82 [Šulek], *Što namjeravaju iliri*, 80.

83 "linguae nationalis, quae unum ex principalibus nationalibus characteribus ac praecipuum promovendae nationalitatis, summi quippe pro singula natione thesauri, vehiculum constituit." *ZHS*, vol. 12 (Zagreb 1980), 269.

The Latin Speeches in the Croatian Parliament: Collective and Personal Identities

Zvezdana Sikirić Assouline

The Croatian parliamentary session of 1832 was in many aspects new and different from previous ones over the past several decades. To understand this we must go back to the year 1790, when parliamentarism was restored to the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Croatian Estates and Orders¹ convened on that occasion too, and, fearing a possible new wave of Germanisation and absolutism, decided to join closer together with their Hungarian aristocratic counterparts. Therefore, they decided to accept the Hungarian government, i.e. the Hungarian Regency Council, as the government for Croatia.² Truth be said, by doing so they only acknowledged the already existing state of affairs imposed from above many years ago;³ however, nobody could deny that there was also a wilful element in the decision of 1790, the nobility's wish to seek alliance and protection from absolutism under the wing of their stronger neighbour.⁴ This transfer of authority weakened the position of the Croatian parliament in the long run, turning its future sessions more and more into a formality in the years and decades to follow, and eventually the parliament would convene only before the scheduled session of the Hungarian diet, electing Croatian delegates for that session and giving them instructions, and after the end of the diet session, receiving and confirming the delegates' official report.⁵

In the same period, due to political circumstances, but also as a result of a conscious effort of the newly emerging Hungarian national movement to

1 "Status et Ordines Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae" represented in the "Congregatio generalis Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae," the parliament, also referred to by its Croatian name, *Sabor*.

2 *Zaključci Hrvatskog Sabora* [Croatian parliament minutes], 12 vols. [herein after: *ZHS*] (Zagreb 1958–1976), 9: 56–80.

3 In the edict of 1779 by Maria Theresa abolishing the Croatian Royal Council.

4 N. Stančić, *Hrvatska nacija i nacionalizam u 19. i 20. stoljeću* [Croatian nation and nationalism in the 19th and 20th centuries] (Zagreb 2002), 160.

5 *ZHS* 10 (1808–1814), *ZHS* 11 (1825–1832).

develop their language, culture and national self-confidence,⁶ the Hungarian diet was gaining momentum, offering new ideas and projects and featuring a new generation of young and uncompromising politicians. Although understandable in the process of transforming the Hungarian nation according to new principles, these new ideas and projects were disrupting the centuries-old relations between the peoples of the Hungarian kingdom and were therefore completely unacceptable to non-Magyar peoples of the kingdom, especially Croats because of their long tradition of the Croatian kingdom as a separate political entity. Croats posed a problem for the Hungarian diet as they were the only Slavic nation politically represented in it, and were able to complicate and delay projects that enhanced the position of the Hungarian language above others. The first proposal that Hungarian be made the official language instead of Latin was expressed in the diet of 1790/91, the very session to which Croatian delegates brought their parliament's decision about submitting the Kingdom of Croatia to the authority of Hungarian regency council.

From then on, for almost 40 years the struggle continued, and even though Croatian delegates put up a good fight, the weak Croatian parliament eventually, over the years, had to introduce the Hungarian language into the educational system, first as an optional foreign language and then as an obligatory subject.⁷ The culmination was reached in the diet of 1830, when the lower house of the diet proposed the introduction of Hungarian as the official language of public administration in all offices of the kingdom, including Croatia, after a period of three years of adaptation, which meant that the decision was expected to be implemented as of 1 January 1833.⁸ With utter desperation, Croatian official delegates wrote in their report to the Croatian parliament: "Hungarians charged Croatian municipal rights with immense vehemence;⁹ this time we have still succeeded in defending our home laws, but the next

6 For example, more than 10,000 new words and expressions were coined in the early decades of the 19th century to enrich and modernise the Hungarian language. P. Hanák, ed., *Povijest Madarske* [History of Hungary] (Zagreb 1995), 130.

7 Hungarian was an optional subject since 1791 with meagre results. Decisions about introducing Hungarian as an obligatory subject were made in Croatian parliament in 1827 and 1830 (*ZHS* 10: 59–60, 95). The actual implementation occurred later, in the school year 1833/34. L. Dobronić, *Klasična gimnazija u Zagrebu* [Classical grammar school in Zagreb] (Zagreb 2004), 187.

8 Minutes of the Hungarian diet 1830, art. 8, § 5. Hrvatski državni arhiv (herein after: HDA) [Croatian State Archives], HR-HDA-1, Sabor KHDS, Prot. Ve/13.

9 Municipal rights were a set of estate privileges which at that time expressed Croatia's political individuality. See below and also Lav Šubarić's chapter in the present volume.

time, we are most seriously afraid, this will not be possible.”¹⁰ This cry of alarm had a real impact on the Croatian public and galvanised the Croatian parliament. Over the following two years, three key texts were published: Ljudevit Gaj’s new orthography project,¹¹ Josip Kušević’s collection and analysis of municipal rights (at the parliament’s request)¹² and Ivan Derkos’s patriotic pamphlet inviting “sleeping sons of the homeland” to wake up.¹³

In preparing the new parliamentary session, three major documents were made: two in traditional Latin, and one, for the first time in the long parliamentary history, in Croatian. The Croatian document, Count Janko Drašković’s *Dissertation, or Treatise given to the honourable lawful deputies and future legislators of our Kingdoms, delegated to the future Hungarian diet*,¹⁴ would soon become the programmatic, founding document of the Croatian national revival movement, which was about to bloom after the publishing of the first Croatian newspaper in 1835. The other two documents, in Latin, are the subject of this paper, in particular the one dealing with the question of Latin as the approved official language of both the Croatian and Hungarian parliaments, written by Count Franjo Vojkffy, and entitled *Dissertation on introducing the Hungarian language in all public affairs in the Hungarian kingdom and its adjoining kingdoms and provinces*.¹⁵ The second one is Count Karlo Sermage’s speech about another major point of Hungarian political pressure on Croatia, the Croatian autonomy in matters of religion. It is entitled *On Introducing the Non-Catholics in the Kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, whether they*

10 Report of Croatian delegates to the diet of 1830: HDA, Sabor KHDS, b. 67, nr. 3; the report was discussed at the session of Croatian parliament of 26 Jan. 1831 (ZHS 11: 112–114).

11 Lj. Gaj, *Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisa* [A short basis of Croato-Slavonian orthography] (Budapest 1830).

12 J. Kušević, *De municipalibus iuribus et statutis Regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae* (Zagreb 1830).

13 I. Derkos, *Genius patriae super dormientibus suis filiis, seu Folium patrioticum pro incolis Regnorum Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, in excitandum, excolendae linguae patriae studium* (Zagreb 1832).

14 J. Drašković, *Disertatia iliti razgovor darovan gospodi poklisarom zakonskim i buduchjem zakonotvorzem Kraljevinah nasih za buduchu dietu Ungarsku odaslanem* [Dissertation, or Treatise given to the honourable lawful deputies and future legislators of our Kingdoms, delegated to the future Hungarian diet] (Karlovac 1832).

15 F. Vojkffy, *Dissertatio de introducenda in regno Hungariae et regniis ac provinciis eidem adnexis in cunctis negotiis publicis lingua Hungarica* ([Zagrabiae] 1832), repr. in Z. Sikirić Assouline, *U obranu hrvatskih municipalnih prava i latinskoga jezika* [In defence of Croatian municipal rights and the Latin language] (Zagreb 2006), 63–76.

*should be allowed to join those Kingdoms.*¹⁶ It was this speech, as we shall see, that prompted the Croatian nobility present at the assembly to take a firmer stand for the future conduct of Croatian delegates in the diet, as expressed in official instructions given to them at the end of this parliament's session.

The Parliament of 1832

The Croatian parliament of the time consisted of 'estates and orders.' Its members were invited by the ban (the Croatian governor), and a list of invitees was compiled for each session.¹⁷ Adult Croatian magnates (counts and barons) as well as high church prelates (Catholic, Greek Catholic and Orthodox) were invited in person, the rest of the members either on the merit of their office or function (county prefects, judges of two high courts and Croatian officials on duty in high government or court administration) or as representatives of collective bodies (five ecclesiastical chapters, six counties for lesser nobility, eight free royal towns for the third estate). Apart from these full members, a significant number of professional lawyers in possession of one or several powers of attorney were attending, representing the widowed wives of Croatian magnates or those magnate ladies whose husbands were not members of the Croatian parliament. In the same manner, some of the invited magnates who were unable to attend chose to send their legal representatives instead. This group of distinguished lawyers, members of the new Croatian bourgeois and lesser nobility intelligentsia, which was about to take the initiative in the years and decades to follow, already made a significant contribution in the parliamentary debates, but had no right to vote. Although the number of invitees could have theoretically risen to up to 170 persons if all the invited men and widows' attorneys attended, the real number of members and representatives present at the parliamentary sessions of 1832 was about 90.¹⁸ Counts Vojkffy and Sermage were among the ten (out of 60) magnates who chose to participate in person.

The Croatian parliament convened twice in the course of 1832. The first session, in the month of May, was a solemn occasion: the installation of the

16 K. Sermage, *Dictio in generali regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae congregatione die 15. novembris 1832. cum de acatholicis, an ad regna hae inducti admittendis deliberaretur* ([Zagrabiae] 1832), repr. in Sikirić Assouline, *U obranu*, 55–62.

17 Lists of invitees: HDA, Sabor KHDS, b. 68, nr. 1 and 21.

18 Sikirić Assouline, *U obranu*, 112.

new ban, Baron Franjo Vlašić.¹⁹ This was an important moment in view of the events to come, because the previous ban, the late Count Ignác (Ignjat) Gyulay, had been absent from Croatia for many years as a result of his very successful military career, which led to his appointment as president of the Court War Council in Vienna. The new ban was much more involved and interested in local issues and ready to give substantial support to the Croatian delegates in the Hungarian diet, displaying this as early as the following year, when the delegates defended Croatian claims on the city of Rijeka, disputed in the diet.²⁰

The second parliamentary session, in November 1832, was a working session and the two orators, Vojkffy and Sermage, along with Janko Drašković, made a substantial contribution to its assertive position after decades of lenient and discouraged spirits. The decision was finally made to give the Croatian delegates the instruction to leave the parliamentary session if attacks on Croatian municipal rights persisted. Instructions also emphasised the temporary character of the Croatian decision of 1790 (accepting the Hungarian regency council as the Croatian government) and demanded that measures be taken towards restoring the unity of the Croatian lands under the ban's authority, which would make Croatia strong enough to have a government of its own.²¹ This parliamentary session has a special place in Croatian history as the first ever to have its members addressed in the Croatian language from the rostrum. When Juraj Rukavina of Vidovgrad, the vice-captain of the kingdom, upon taking the usual oath in Latin, made his acceptance speech in Croatian, his words were greeted with "standing ovations of the estates and orders."²² The speeches by Franjo Vojkffy and Karlo Sermage were delivered in this patriotic atmosphere.

*Dissertatio de introducenda in regno Hungariae et regnis ac
provinciis eidem adnexis in cunctis negotiis publicis lingua
Hungarica* by Count Franjo Vojkffy

Franjo Vojkffy was born in 1761. His father Sigismund, member of a distinguished old family of lesser nobility by birth, and very capable military officer as well as a resourceful man, ascended to substantial wealth by marrying subsequently two older widows, which gave him the opportunity to advance quickly

19 ZHS 11: 140–144.

20 F. Šišić, *Pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda* [Overview of the history of the Croatian people], 4th ed. (Zagreb 1975), 407.

21 ZHS 11: 182.

22 ZHS 11: 161.

to the rank of a count, actually skipping that of a baron.²³ He then had the finest noble palace in Zagreb built,²⁴ in which his son Franjo was raised. Franjo Vojkffy, who received a good education in law at the Zagreb Royal Academy, was also an entrepreneur, one of the first among Croatian magnates. He owned and personally supervised a pottery factory in Krapina, and a mill and a bakery.²⁵ Besides managing his estate, Zabok-Oroslavlje, he was a botanist, compiling an impressive herbarium of more than 150 species of flowers.²⁶ As a very active member of the Croatian parliament, he participated in numerous parliamentary commissions over several decades, but the above-mentioned dissertation about the importance of keeping Latin as the official language, and keeping Hungarian out, was the only publication resulting from of his long work in parliament. The fact that the text was immediately published proves how important the issue was. By putting his initials (G. F. V.) rather than his full name on the booklet, Vojkffy showed that he was more interested in promoting his arguments than in increasing his prestige.

Age 71 at the time, Franjo Vojkffy was a veteran in the Croatian parliament and his views on the use and necessity of the Latin language were accordingly very traditional. They reflected the position of the Croatian nobility, who understood Latin as a part of their national and estate identity. They were not hostile towards the Croatian language, using and promoting it in their family environment and in managing their estates,²⁷ but they firmly understood Latin to be their political privilege. In the clash with Hungarian concepts of political hegemony through the Hungarian language, it was a privilege with which the Croatian parliament as a political institution of the Croatian nobility was not willing to part. Vojkffy's oration was a highly emotional speech, occasionally turning into a true ode to the Latin language. This emotion-filled discourse indicates the strong attachment of the speaker to the topic of his speech. Vojkffy spared no effort in looking around the world and in the depths of history for—sometimes even bizarre—examples which he thought could prove that a different language in public affairs was nothing unusual, showing that Latin was in other countries valued rather than suppressed.

He developed his argument through several theses. The abolition of Latin was first of all *unnecessary*. To prove his point Vojkffy looked also for

23 B. A. Krčelić, *Annuae sive Historia* (Zagreb 1952), 452–455.

24 Today the Museum of Croatian History.

25 Sikirić Assouline, *U obranu*, 47.

26 *Herbarium Croaticum* collection of the Botanical Institute, University of Zagreb.

27 Numerous examples in his family archives, HR-HDA-649, Vlastelinstvo Zabok-Oroslavlje [Zabok-Oroslavlje estate].

non-European examples. Vulgar languages were kept away from politics in India, where the sacred Sanskrit language was used not only in religious but also in public affairs, and in ancient and modern China, where the legal and scientific language contained some eighty thousand signs/characters, whereas everyday language, not more than twenty-five thousand.²⁸ Even Turkey and its large empire had one language in the official and another in everyday use.²⁹

Coming to more rational and concrete arguments, Vojkffy pointed out the inherent benefits of the Latin language. First of all, Latin was an inseparable part of the constitution, and as such, irreplaceable, a binding element of the Hungarian kingdom through eight centuries, ever since the first king, Saint Stephen, with all the legislation and other documents written in it.³⁰ Moreover, Latin was also comprehensible to the entire world, as opposed to the Hungarian language.³¹ Latin prevented any disputes that could arise from having to translate between the peoples of Saint Stephen's Crown or beyond. Here again he reached for historical examples, like problems that Christians had with different translations and consequently different interpretations of divinely inspired texts of the Holy Scripture.³² Closely connected to the previous argument was the argument that learning Latin was in itself very useful, as Latin was the foundation for all other learning and therefore enhanced the abilities of the nation in all fields of excellence.

After dealing with the advantages of Latin, Vojkffy then moved to the wider implications of the Hungarian decision to introduce the Hungarian language into public administration and education in Croatia. This part of the discourse, becoming ever more concise, was based on several logically connected main points. The first one was that the decision to abolish Latin was *not equitable*, or fair, because the Hungarians could only benefit from other peoples under the same Crown, especially from Croats, since they guarded their borders from the worst enemy, the Turks; thus it was not right to pay them back in such a treacherous way.³³ Moreover, this decision was *not legal* because in complex states, such as Saint Stephen's Crown, that also comprised the Kingdom of Dalmatia,³⁴ Croatia and Slavonia, there must exist a legal principle of equality,

28 Vojkffy, *Dissertatio*, 10.

29 *Ibid.*, 11.

30 *Ibid.*, 5–6.

31 *Ibid.*, 6, 28.

32 *Ibid.*, 8.

33 *Ibid.*, 19–20.

34 Although Dalmatia was ruled by Venice since the Middle Ages and, after the Napoleonic wars, by the Habsburgs as a hereditary province, the Croatian estates—and, indirectly, the

so that the bigger kingdom cannot order the smaller kingdom around.³⁵ Their two voices should have equal weight.³⁶ This argument was closely linked with the Croatian nobility's conception of an original and separate political entity of the Croatian kingdom.³⁷

In the context of denying the legality of this decision, one argument was particularly stressed, the argument of the *unconstitutionality* (or even better, *counter-constitutionality*) of changing the official language.³⁸ It was an argument that Vojkffy developed by applying the inviolability of each individual nobleman (which is guaranteed by the Hungarian constitution as the founding law of the kingdom) to the 'nobility-nation,' such as the Croatian noble nation, as a whole. Given the extreme sensitivity of every Hungarian nobleman to his estate rights, guaranteed to them since the Golden Bull of Andrew II, this argument was obviously supposed to have a particular weight, and was therefore placed at the very end of Vojkffy's legal argumentation.

As a third point in arguing the implications of the decision to abolish Latin and replace it with Hungarian in public administration and education in Croatia, Vojkffy stated that the decision was *impossible to execute*, because the proposed implementation term of three years was too short.³⁹ According to him, for a change of such proportions not even a period of one entire human generation would be enough.⁴⁰ This would give Magyars a huge advantage over other nations of the kingdom, and Croatian (or any other non-Magyar) participation in running public affairs would be made practically impossible. The political question of Croatian representation would also become an existential problem on a much broader basis for the Croatian nobility in general, i.e. for all those holding jobs in public affairs (mostly members of the lesser nobility, unable to afford the time and money for learning Hungarian, and also those whose age presented an impediment to learning).⁴¹ This argument reveals the fear of the Croatian nobility of losing their employment in public services if Hungarian suddenly became a requirement for holding those positions.

Hungarian ones—still viewed it as the integral part of the triune Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia and never gave up their pretensions on its territory.

35 Vojkffy, *Dissertatio*, 24.

36 *Ibid.*, 25.

37 See the chapter by Lav Šubarić in this volume.

38 *Ibid.*, 25–26.

39 *Ibid.*, 27.

40 *Ibid.*, 30.

41 *Ibid.*, 29.

As his last and final point, intentionally left as a closing argument, Vojkffy put forward the *question of sense*. He argued that such a decision was unreasonable, considering “turmoil and rebellions making their way all around Europe.” In 1832, Europe had several recent examples of revolutions—a word that always evokes unpleasant associations for members of nobility—with the latest one only two years earlier in several different parts of Europe; the July revolution of 1830 in Paris resulted in the overturning of the regime and putting a ‘bourgeois king,’ Louis Philippe, in power in France, and even kindled revolutions in Belgium, Poland and Italy. Vojkffy appealed to his peers, the Hungarian nobility, to join ranks together, rather than create a new source of friction in times of crisis. In this regard, he underlined at the end, as an effective rhetorical twist, “the brotherly tie that has been uniting the Hungarian and Croatian kingdoms for eight centuries.”⁴²

*Dictio in generali regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae
congregatione die 15. novembris 1832. cum de acatholicis, an ad regna
haec induci admittendis deliberaretur* by Count Karlo Sermage

Karlo Ivan Petar Sermage⁴³ was born in 1793. He lost his father Petar Ivan Sermage early in life at the age of 11. From the age of 15 he was educated in Vienna at the Theresianum Academy. After studying law and chemistry in Vienna, he enrolled in a mining academy in today’s Slovakia. He first served in a Royal Mining Court in the same district, and then managed to be appointed to the court of the ban in Zagreb, one of the two high courts in Croatia. After 1832 Sermage would be appointed supreme royal director of education and schools for Croatia and Slavonia before being called to the capital city and finishing his career in high services at the Ministry for Agriculture and Mining in Vienna. Aside from his professional career, he also had the lifelong ambition of writing poetry, drama and history. He published a German treatise on the unification of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia with the Kingdom of Hungary,⁴⁴ in order to bring the Austrian and German public closer to the notion of the antiquity and sovereignty of the Croatian nation and the necessity of equality and partnership between those two kingdoms on the basis on which this union was built in the first place—on contract and not conquest.

42 Ibid., 31.

43 Sikirić Assoulina, *U obranu*, 42–44.

44 K. Sermage, *Die ursprüngliche Vereinigung der Königreiche Croatien, Dalmatien und Slawonien mit der Krone Ungarns* (Vienna 1836).

Karlo Sermage's speech in the Croatian parliamentary session of November 1832 dealt with the issue of whether or not Protestants should be admitted into the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, which was another change that the diet was trying to impose on Croatia. Although it sounds like a religious matter, it was a political question par excellence because Croatia had its own 'religious law' since 1608,⁴⁵ recognising only the Catholic faith. This law was considered one of the fundamental municipal rights of the Croatian kingdom,⁴⁶ almost a symbol of Croatian independence in regard to Hungary. This was precisely why it was being targeted at the time. If this law were to be overturned, the other municipal rights could easily follow.

Count Sermage's discourse was much more resolute in tone than Vojkffy's treatise on the Latin language. Sermage put it openly that the real question was whether the Croatian kingdoms wanted to be "subjected or indeed confederate and allied" to the Kingdom of Hungary.⁴⁷ In addition, he identified the possible arrival of foreigners as detrimental to the unity and peace of the (Croatian) kingdom.⁴⁸ While he had no high opinion of those for whom, as he said, "the genuine form of faith, founded by the divine founder himself, was not sacred enough, to restrain from reforming it and adjusting it to their own secular needs," he saw the possible newcomers primarily as agents of foreign "political reformation"⁴⁹ and considered them as evidently dangerous for his nation's political survival.⁵⁰ As the true intention of the Hungarian initiative, he saw their determination to erase Croatia as a political entity and leave nothing but "an empty name."⁵¹

In his argumentation of this straightforward statement, Sermage recalled other political issues where Hungarian appetites for hegemony could not only be suspected but also clearly identified. The first one was the question of the unity (*integritas*) of the Croatian lands, with Rijeka (Fiume) and its district being constantly under pressure to send their representatives directly to the Hungarian diet and not to the Croatian parliament,⁵² and the recent (1830) attempt to demand the reincorporation of Dalmatia from Austria directly into

45 *Jura Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, ed. by I. Kukuljević, 3 vols. (Zagreb 1861–1862), 2: 62.

46 Kušević, *De municipalibus iuribus*, 71.

47 Sermage, *Dictio*, 4.

48 *Ibid.*, 6.

49 *Ibid.*

50 *Ibid.*, 9.

51 *Ibid.*, 6.

52 *Ibid.*, 4. Cf. the chapter by Lav Šubarić in this volume, p. 206.

the Hungarian kingdom and not to the 'Hungarian Crown,' as well as their project to create a new county (Severin) by separating a part of the existing Zagreb County in order to have it submitted directly to Hungarian diet,⁵³ as they had been trying to do for decades with Slavonian counties.⁵⁴ The second issue was the constant attempt to limit the authority of the Croatian ban, not only in a territorial aspect, but also in the Hungarian diet, where his rightful place, as the third in the rank of honour, was being challenged.⁵⁵ Further, there was the question of Croatian representation in the diet, already in serious danger and soon to become pointless, should the Hungarian language replace Latin in debates, because it would effectively make Croatian participation an illusion.⁵⁶ The taxes, much higher than they should have been if Croatian legal tax privileges were respected,⁵⁷ were the last example illustrating the point that all Croatian municipal rights had already been violated in one way or another.

Economic issues raised by Sermage consisted mainly in exposing the false hopes or claims that the economy and even culture would prosper with the arrival of (Hungarian) Protestants.⁵⁸ According to him, Catholicism was not an impediment for developing culture or entrepreneurship.⁵⁹ On the contrary, for a harmonious development, spiritual unity and public peace achieved through unity of religion were essential. Considering the too high of a price Croatia would have to pay in this respect, Sermage invoked the spectre of damage and discord the newcomers would cause by taking positions in the administration and private sector, up till now reserved for the domestic population.⁶⁰

For Sermage, the answer to all this was simple, and the Croatian kingdom had all the necessary legal and political tools to resist the pressure. The emphasis should be put on Article 120 of the 1715 Hungarian parliamentary resolutions,⁶¹ where King Charles III confirmed that the Croatian parliament had, since the dawn of time, the right to pass laws for its own territory, and those laws, once they had the king's confirmation, were not up for debate in the Hungarian diet any more. Sermage called for the firm and resolute attitude of future Croatian

53 Sermage, *Dictio*, 5.

54 Representatives of two of the three Slavonian counties were present in the Croatian parliament, but these counties were also represented directly in the Hungarian diet and treated there as any other Hungarian county. Sikirić Assoulina, *U obranu*, 13, 31, 113–114.

55 Sermage, *Dictio*, 5.

56 *Ibid.*

57 *Ibid.*

58 *Ibid.*, 7.

59 *Ibid.*, 8.

60 *Ibid.*, 6.

61 *Ibid.*, 9.

delegates to the Hungarian diet and suggested that they should be given a clear instruction to leave the parliamentary session and appeal to the king if the discussion on non-Catholics continued.⁶² The tone of this speech and its final proposals marked it as the crucial factor in the creation of the new atmosphere and determination exhibited by the 1832 parliamentary session and in the formulation of its final conclusions.

The delegates elected on that day and sent to the diet, which took place between 1832 and 1836, did in fact eventually have to appeal to King Ferdinand v, who in turn denied approval to the diet's newly voted law, which made the Hungarian language official for Croatia and Slavonia.⁶³ In the minutes of the Croatian parliament we find a special letter sent with a delegation to the king to thank "His Majesty" for protecting their municipal rights.⁶⁴

Municipal Rights as Elements of Identity

The emphasis of Croatian historiography in regard to the activity and achievements of the Croatian parliament of 1832 has always been on Janko Drašković's *Dissertation* mentioned earlier.⁶⁵ This is understandable because it is, after all, the first document of its kind in Croatian politics, and the first one written in Croatian. That political pamphlet contains fundamentals of a political program that a new generation of Croatian patriots, enthusiasts of bourgeois descent, were going to turn into a movement called the Croatian national revival in the years to come. It is therefore a milestone for research on the following period of accelerated development of the modern Croatian nation. However, if we want to examine and understand the manner of thinking, patriotism and arguments of the pre-modern Croatian *political* nation, i.e. the Croatian nobility,⁶⁶ if we want to identify their political, social and intimate preoccupations as well as solutions which helped them protect national interests and bridge a difficult period before the modern intelligentsia took over that task, the Latin speeches of the same parliamentary session of 1832 are a much better place to look.

62 Ibid.

63 Šišić, *Pregled*, 408.

64 *ZHS* 12: 53.

65 An exhaustive bibliography in: T. Macan et al., eds., *Hrvatski biografski leksikon* [Croatian Biographical Lexicon], 8 vols. (Zagreb 1983–2013), 3: 589–590.

66 On the political *Natio Croatica* and its place in the proto-modernisation processes of the Croatian nation, see Stančić, *Hrvatska nacija*, 95–99.

The fundamental focus of the nobility's understanding of Croatian and their own identity, as clearly revealed in Voykffy's and Sermage's speeches, is on Croatian municipal rights. The use of the Latin language in public affairs,⁶⁷ and especially in dealing with authorities in Buda and Vienna, was of vital importance in that regard because it made the Croatian nobility feel equal to their Hungarian counterparts,⁶⁸ able to discuss all matters in a neutral language, a language that they mastered well.⁶⁹ Latin was a privilege and an asset that connected the Croatian nobility to their historical roots in past centuries and with their present, in which the Latin education that they had received directly qualified them for their offices.⁷⁰ Therefore, it was strongly felt as a source of stability. Latin was also a source of glory and pride, a legacy to be transmitted to the posterity.⁷¹ In this respect the nobility's use of the Latin language, and the Latin of the Croatian elites in general, touches on further considerations of a more private or personal nature.

The Catholic identity of the Croatian nobility is clearly expressed in the speeches as well. Sermage argued a political question, with a strong legal basis, but in doing so he also inevitably expressed an opinion about Protestantism, making it clear that Croatia's own religious law was and should remain a wall protecting the land from Hungarian influence. Both speakers called upon tradition, and the importance of keeping traditions,⁷² the Catholic faith being one of them, which was enhanced by its status as a municipal right.

Apart from their title topics, the Latin speeches also touch upon or allude to a number of other topics in which the Croatian nobility was vitally interested. The first one was the nobility's deepest wish to restore the long lost unity of the lands of the Croatian kingdom. Bringing all Croatian regions together would be one of the goals of the later Croatian national revival as well,⁷³ but while the modern idea would be based on the language and common Slavic descent, the old-fashioned nobility's demands were based on Croatian 'state law' and the historical right of the Croatian parliament to its lands, at the present moment taken out of its control either by foreign conquerors⁷⁴ or by political

67 Kušević, *De municipalibus juris*, 77–78, Sermage, *Dictio*, 7–8.

68 Voykffy, *Dissertatio*, 25.

69 *Ibid.*, 7, 14, 27.

70 *Ibid.*, 5, 31, 28–29.

71 *Ibid.*, 14, 15, 30, 31.

72 *Ibid.*, 31; Sermage, *Dictio*, 6.

73 These projects would in some cases go even further to encompass Slovenian lands and the Slavs of southern Hungary, forming the nucleus of the Yugoslav cultural and political project.

74 "Turkish Croatia"—a term used for the Bihać region in Bosnia.

and administrative solutions within the Habsburg Monarchy: the Military Borderlands still under direct control of Vienna and not the Croatian parliament and its ban, and recently acquired former Venetian Dalmatia which was kept as a separate province and not reincorporated into the Croatian kingdom. Discontentment with the situation was clearly visible in both speeches. Sermage's position in that regard and his understanding of the true intentions of Magyar nationalists were elaborated earlier, but Vojkffy indirectly touches upon the matter too, when he talks about Croatian merits in defending the whole country.

The speeches express the deepest concern for the future of Croatian representation in the diet, as for both orators this representation symbolises Croatia's individuality as a state.⁷⁵ In that regard our initial statement that the role of the Croatian parliament was *reduced* to convening before the scheduled assembly of the diet to elect delegates, and thereafter to receive their report, should be revised. Electing their delegates and sending them to the diet to represent the Croatian kingdom as a state, a lawful entity, was quintessential to the Croatian nobility; thus holding parliamentary sessions in the above-described manner was not at all considered to be a formality nor was their importance to be underestimated. The special position of the Croatian delegates—not as individuals but as representatives of a kingdom—was indeed annoying for young Magyar national forces in the diet, to the point that some of them even proposed to simply let Croatia go,⁷⁶ in order to exercise the Hungarian-language dominance more efficiently over the rest of the non-Magyar peoples (not represented in the diet), once the indirect shield of Croatian constant opposition was gone. It is interesting to note that Lajos Kossuth, at that time the editor of the *Pesti Hírlap* newspaper, would even publicly propose such a solution in 1842.⁷⁷ In 1832, Count Vojkffy was aware of the existence of such ideas and rejected them with indignation.⁷⁸ It was over that issue that he engaged in elaborating all the economic benefits that Hungary had accrued from the union with Croatia.

It is interesting to see Vojkffy's and Sermage's views of economic issues. The first reference occurs, not surprisingly, in the framework of municipal rights: Sermage evokes the ongoing situation concerning military tax,⁷⁹ which had

75 Vojkffy, *Dissertatio*, 25, 29; Sermage, *Dictio*, 5.

76 Croatia, but not Slavonia, cf. fn. 54.

77 I. Deák, *The Lawful Revolution, Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians, 1848–1849* (London 2001), 25.

78 Vojkffy, *Dissertatio*, 21–22.

79 Sermage, *Dictio*, 5.

a much higher tax rate than what Croatian municipal rights guaranteed (i.e. 50 per cent of the Hungarian rate),⁸⁰ while Slavonia even paid the full rate. The other references, particularly in Voykffy's treatise, show a flash of real interest and insight into the economy of the time. Voykffy's remarks concern commerce, in particular the transport of cattle, grain and tobacco, the importance of Croatian rivers and a new road built to connect the interior with Rijeka.⁸¹ He pinpoints a major problem of the Croatian economy of the time: a flood of cheaper and better Hungarian wheat, which was destroying domestic trade.⁸² Although politics was their primary interest, the nobility of the 1830s had to take an interest in the economy as well. The example of possible job loss in public administration (because of the Hungarian language) shows that the economy was often treated as 'applied politics.' Voykffy's view of Hungary as an Arcadian land of fertility, opulence and peace, as opposed to Slavic lands of austerity, hardship and war, says a lot in that regard.⁸³

Inner Elements of Identity

Going beyond direct questions that derive from the defence of Croatian municipal rights, Voykffy's and Sermage's speeches give us a firsthand insight into deeper elements of the mentality of the Croatian nobility of the time. Some of them have already been mentioned, like their idea of themselves as a Croatian political nation and defenders of the Catholic faith.

Closer attention should be given to the Latin language itself, as it is firmly embedded in the identity of the Croatian nobleman.⁸⁴ We have already mentioned Voykffy's close, almost intimate relationship with Latin, his discourse turning at times into an emotional ode to the Latin language. He puts Latin side by side with one's mother tongue, as the languages that one is immersed in from the early childhood,⁸⁵ as opposed to foreign languages (he gives examples of French, Italian and English), that are learnt later on in life, with a

80 Kušević, *De municipalibus iuribus*, 49.

81 Voykffy, *Dissertatio*, 22.

82 *Ibid.*, 23.

83 *Ibid.*, 18–19.

84 Sikirić Assoulina, *U obranu*, 22.

85 "Latinae linguae, cui juvenus nostra jam a prima infantia insuevit" (Voykffy, *Dissertatio*, 14); "praeter linguam suam maternam, et Latinam, sibi a tenera juventute inculcatam" (*ibid.*, 27).

considerable effort and insufficient success.⁸⁶ When he says in his speech that Latin is “very much alive to this day,”⁸⁷ it is not just an empty phrase: he corroborates it with the statement that Latin is “a supplement for our mother tongue in our everyday conversation.”⁸⁸ He simply takes the knowledge of Latin as a given when he talks about its advantages as a basis for all other learning.⁸⁹ Latin was indeed a living language of Croatia’s social and intellectual elites of the time, as the language of literacy and culture of the whole population of educated men.⁹⁰ It was the language in which they could and did express all their thoughts in the most precise way. Out of the three books (by Gaj, Kušević and Derkos)⁹¹ mentioned at the beginning as having an impact on kindling patriotic feelings between 1830 and 1832, two were written in Latin. It was really no surprise that young Ivan Derkos wrote his booklet *Genius patriae* in Latin, choosing Latin to promote his agenda of cultivating and studying one’s own native (Croatian) language. For him, Latin was the most efficient and most accurate medium to convey political, philosophical and cultural concepts to a learned Croatian audience. This also explains the otherwise perplexing fact that the first lectures at the Zagreb Royal Academy on Croatian grammar and (ancient Dubrovnikian) literature were given in Latin (as indeed all other lectures).⁹² In this regard, Vojkffy’s speech reflects the reality of Latin being accepted and indeed functioning as a constitutive element of the identity of the Croatian elites before and even during the national revival.

In talking about the Latin identity of the elites, it is important to emphasise its Croatian dimension. There is no contradiction between applauding a Croatian speech with standing ovations at the beginning of the parliamentary session and then proceeding with the work, giving the same vital and genuine support to keeping Latin as the official language. This is yet another example in line with the two previous examples, where Croatian patriotism was being expressed in the Latin language. Latin was in fact a constitutive element of the *Croatian* identity of the nobility and elites in a broader sense.

86 Ibid., 27–28.

87 Ibid., 27–28, 14.

88 “ipsa lingua Latina [...] quae in quotidiana nostra conversatione vices maternae nostrae linguae supplet” (ibid., 7).

89 “cum lingua Latina, nobis omnibus familiari” (ibid., 28).

90 Z. Sikirić Assouline, “Latinitet u hrvatskom društvu prve polovice 19. stoljeća” [Latinity in the Croatian society of the first half of the 19th century], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest* 41 (2009), 257–266, here 263.

91 See fns. 11, 12 and 13.

92 Latin was the language of Croatian grammar schools and higher education until 1848. Sikirić Assouline, “Latinitet u hrvatskom društvu,” 258.

The next important identity trait reflected in Voykffy's and Sermage's Latin speeches is the underlying deep sense of affiliation with the Hungarian kingdom, or better yet, with the Hungarian Crown. Voykffy regularly employs the pronoun 'our' when referring to 'Hungarian' terms: "our Hungarian kingdom," "our holy King Stephen," "our Hungarian constitution."⁹³ Although the Latin terms *Hungaria*, *Hungaricus*, etc., do not differentiate between 'Hungarian' and 'Magyar,' those two notions can clearly be distinguished by the tone of the speeches, negative for Magyar/Hungarian nationalist aspirations and positive for the mutual (broader) homeland, that is the Hungarian kingdom. The Croatian nobility's view of the Hungarian kingdom was based on the notion of a fellowship between Croatian and Hungarian estates, and therefore it made them even more sad (Vojkffy) or angrier (Sermage) to see this centuries-old fellowship breaking up. This multilayered notion of homeland is present and well presented in Derkos's work as well.⁹⁴ It includes the Habsburg Monarchy as the first and, so to speak, general layer, then the Hungarian kingdom as the intermediate layer of patriotism, and finally the Croatian kingdom, as the homeland proper. Count Vojkffy explicitly employs the words *communis patria* twice.⁹⁵ However, the force of this embedded old notion was starting to weaken, and over the following two decades, especially in the turbulent years of 1848/49, there would be few left who would still consider 'Hungary' their homeland.⁹⁶

Finally, in subtle nuances expressed by words or only alluded to, the speeches show the nobility's inner thoughts, concerns, as well as suppressed or open fears. The fear of losing their positions in public services, if Hungarian Protestants should be allowed to settle in Croatia, has already been mentioned. To that should be added the obvious advantage of Magyars over Croats, should command of the Hungarian language become a requirement for employment in public affairs. Although the Hungarian language had already been introduced into the grammar school of Zagreb as an optional subject, very few pupils actually chose to learn it. In the school year of 1827/28, the number was 43 out of 432 students.⁹⁷ The task was even more difficult for adults, and would have been quite impossible to achieve in only three years. In that regard, Voykffy, being 71 years old, was particularly affected and felt for the older generations who would not be able to meet the requirement at all and for all those who

93 Vojkffy, *Dissertatio*, 7, 5, 25.

94 Derkos, *Genius patriae*, 6–15.

95 Vojkffy, *Dissertatio*, 22, 29.

96 Sikirić Assoulina, *U obranu*, 50.

97 L. Dobronić, *Klasična gimnazija u Zagrebu* [The Zagreb humanistic high school] (Zagreb 2004), 187.

would not be able to afford such a luxury for financial reasons. The majority of the Croatian working nobility would probably fall into that group. Many of them could not even afford to go to Zagreb to attend sessions of the parliament for financial reasons.⁹⁸

The existential worries of the Croatian nobility did not end there. The fear of “new developments” was palpable in the speeches. The most obvious was, of course, the uncertainty about the next move of the diet. Which of their municipal rights was going to be next? We already mentioned Sermage’s straightforward assertion that “the intention of the diet is to destroy these kingdoms [i.e. Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia] and to leave them but an empty name.”⁹⁹ However, although the Croatian question was a constant source of irritation for the Magyar nationalists in the lower house of diet, it was not their main concern at all. The language problem already being solved in Hungary, they wanted to implement other reforms. Their plan to abolish villeinage and serfdom was a nightmare for the Croatian nobility, economically much weaker than their Hungarian counterparts, and therefore much more dependent on the feudal system. Sermage mentions those “projects of political reformation” twice and denotes them as “diametrically opposite to the Constitution.”¹⁰⁰ The Croatian nobility would continue to oppose systematically the abolition of serfdom until the very end of feudal privileges in the Habsburg monarchy, in 1848.

Last but not the least the nobility’s ever present fear of a revolt of peasant masses also played a significant role. It was reinforced not only by the recent revolutionary developments across Europe mentioned earlier, but also by a concrete and bloody peasant revolt in Hungary itself only a year earlier. Count Sermage referred to it indirectly when listing all the bad things that could be imported to the Croatian kingdom along with the non-Catholics.¹⁰¹ The peasants pillaged and set fires, killed nobles, priests and officials, and the uprising was bloodily crushed by the army.¹⁰² These were the reasons why some advocated that the nobility—Hungarian and Croatian alike—stick together, which made it even more incomprehensible for Völkffy, and obviously other

98 Baron Jelačić, for example, when appointed ban in 1848, moved from Glina to Zagreb with only five forints remaining from his last salary in his pocket. J. Neustädter, *Ban Jelačić i događaji u Hrvatskoj od godine 1848* [Ban Jelačić and the events of the year 1848 in Croatia], vol. 1 (Zagreb 1994), 313–314.

99 Sermage, *Dictio*, 6.

100 *Ibid.*, 6, 7.

101 *Ibid.*, 7–8.

102 Deák, *The Lawful Revolution*, 22.

members of Croatian parliament, as to why the Hungarian nobility should break their fellowship and alliance precisely in such unstable times. The two speakers differed in their views on the solution to this problem. While Vojkffy relied on the strengthening of the old brotherly ties between the Croatian and Hungarian estates, Sermage wanted to see a new course of action, empowering the Croatian nobility from within.

Conclusion

Two Latin speeches from the 1832 Croatian parliament represent a wellspring of genuine, firsthand political arguments of the Croatian nobility in their fight against Hungarian hegemony and give an excellent insight into their mentality, actions, hopes, and fears. The Latin language of the speeches is not merely a means of expression but a genuine element of the self-identification of the speakers, both in the sense of their personal identity and their collective identity as members of the Croatian nobility. Although neither of the speakers were able to go beyond their traditional view of the Croatian political nation as being the same as the Croatian nobility-lacking any trace of the modern notion of nation-both reflect the new and eager spirit of that parliamentary session, as opposed to the conciliatory ones of former occasions. Eventually, as a result of this change in spirit, delegates who were elected to represent the Croatian kingdom in the next session of the Hungarian diet received the distinct instruction to walk out and leave the parliament if their arguments for preserving Croatian municipal rights were not properly heard or answered. On their appeal, the king himself protected the municipal rights in 1836, and even though this did not stop all Magyar aspirations, the situation would soon change, as the Croatian revival would become more widespread among the population, that is, broader in the social sense. In that regard, the 1832 Croatian parliament and the speakers who shaped its opinion helped overcome the crisis and keep Croatian municipal rights alive so that the emerging young generation of bourgeois intellectuals could take them to the next level, and form the modern Croatian national idea, in which the whole populace and not just the nobility embodied the nation.

Latin as the Pan Slavonic Language, 1790–1848

Alexander Maxwell

The Latin language has a rich history in the Kingdom of Hungary. It had long drawn prestige from its association with venerable institutions, such as the Catholic Church and the Habsburg Dynasty. Before the nineteenth century, it served as the main language of the courts and government administration. It was also the primary medium for education and learning. To some degree, it even served as a spoken language.¹ From the perspective of Hungary's eighteenth-century inhabitants, then, Latin had inherited a variety of social functions. Perhaps its most surprising role, however, was as a vehicle for articulating Pan Slavic linguistic nationalism.

During the nineteenth century, the territory now administered by the Slovak Republic belonged to Hungary. The predominantly Slavic-speaking region stretching from Pozsony to Zemplén counties, known in Hungarian as the *felvidék*, produced a school of Slavic linguistic nationalism whose intellectual heritage owes much to Johann Gottfried Herder.² Slavic intellectuals

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- 1 "The mixture of languages in Hungary itself is so great that [...] every one who hopes to travel beyond the village in which he was born, is compelled to learn some other language or dialect. Hence probably it is that Latin has been retained as a common medium of communication." R. Bright, *Travels from Vienna to Lower Hungary* (Edinburgh 1818), 213. See also I. Gy. Tóth, "Latinčina ako hovorená reč v Uhorsku v 17. a 18. storočí so zreteľom na Slovensko" [Latin as a spoken language in Hungary in the 17th and 18th centuries from the Slovak perspective], *Historický časopis* 44 (1996), 102–113.
 - 2 K. Bittner, *Herders Geschichtsphilosophie und die Slawen* (Reichenberg 1929); J. Janeff, *Herder und die Slawen* (Leipzig 1939); E. Birke, "Herder und die Slawen," in *Schicksalswege deutscher Vergangenheit*, ed. by W. Hubatsch (Düsseldorf 1950), 81–102; J. Sydoruk "Herder and the Slavs," *Ukrainian Quarterly* 12 (1956), 58–62; H. Sundhaussen, *Der Einfluß der Herderischen Ideen auf die Nationsbildung bei den Völkern der Habsburgermonarchie* (Munich 1973); U. Lehmann, "Herder und die Slawen: Probleme des Geschichtsbildes und Geschichtsverständnisses aus historischer Perspektive," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte der sozialistischen Länder Europas* 22 (1978), 39–50; G. Ziegengeist, H. Grasshof and U. Lehmann, eds., *Johann Gottfried Herder: zur Herder-Rezeption in Ost- und Südsosteuropa* (Berlin 1978); P. Drews, *Herder und die Slawen: Materialien zur Wirkungsgeschichte bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1990); P. Caussat, "L'ensemble austro-slave: Herder et les Slaves," in *La langue source de la nation: messianismes séculiers en Europe central et orientale* (Liège 1996), 177–182; V. Švoger, "Recepcija Johanna Herdera u hrvatskome preporodu na temelju 'Danice ilirske'" [Herder's Reception in

in northern Hungary glorified vernacular languages as ‘national languages,’ which supposedly embodied the national spirit. When ethnic Hungarians, also known as Magyars, pursued policies of linguistic assimilation, Slavic literati vigorously defended their linguistic rights with what Ján Ormis has called ‘national defenses.’³ Yet Slavic patriots in northern Hungary used Latin to discuss, contest, and praise the very vernacular whose elevation to the status of ‘national language’ would ultimately destroy Hungary’s Latin tradition. Why did Slavs from northern Hungary, the future Slovakia, choose to defend their native language in Latin?

Any analysis of ethnolinguistic nationalism in the future Slovakia must begin by acknowledging that the ancestors of today’s Slovaks did not always espouse national ideologies that resemble contemporary Slovak nationalism. In the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, Slavic literati in northern Hungary generally imagined themselves not as Slovaks but rather as Slavs. Visions of Slavic unity, or efforts to promote such unity, are often described as ‘Pan-Slavism.’ Yet the term ‘Pan-Slavism’ may bring more confusion than clarity.

Different Slavic intellectuals advocated widely different agendas under the banner of ‘Pan-Slavism,’ as an extensive if mostly outdated literature demonstrates.⁴ Both historical actors and scholars have attempted with varying degrees of success to identify different ‘types’ of Pan-Slavism, or to distinguish Pan-Slavism from All-Slavism, Austro-Slavism, Neo-Slavism, Slavic Reciprocity, Slavophilism, and so forth.⁵ Ideologies of Slavism are however too complex and diverse for either a schematic taxonomy or a brief summary.

the Croatian national Revival as seen in the ‘Danica ilirska’], *Časopis za zuvremenu Povijest*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1998), 455–478; J. Loužil, “K zápasu o J. G. Herdera u nás” [On J. G. Herder’s Encounter with the Czechs], *Czech Literature* 53 (2005), 637–653; Z. David, *Johann Gottfried Herder and the Czech National Awakening: A Reassessment* (Pittsburgh 2007).

- 3 Ján Ormis, *O reč a národ: Slovenské národné obrany z rokov 1832–1848* [On Language and Nation: Slovak National Defences from the years 1832–1848] (Bratislava 1973). For a Hungarian perspective, see J. Varga, *A Hungarian Quo Vadis: Political Trends and Theories of the Early 1840s* (Budapest 1993), esp. 51–72.
- 4 W. Lednicki, “Panslavism,” in *European Ideologies*, ed. by F. Gross (New York 1948), 808–912; H. Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology* (Notre Dame 1953); M. Petrovich, *The Emergence of Russian Panslavism* (New York 1956); F. Fadner, *Seventy Years of Pan-Slavism in Russia: Karamzin to Danilevskii, 1800–1870* (Haarlem 1962).
- 5 *Der Panslavismus im Gegensatz zum Allslaventhum* (Strausbourg 1870); J. Popowski, *Nationalität-Race (Slavismus-Panslavismus)* (Vienna 1893); Volodymyr Kushnir, *Der Neopanslavismus [neo-Panslavism]* (Vienna 1908); H. Hantsch, “Panslavismus, Neoslavismus und Austro-slawismus,” *Der Donauraum* 10 (1965), 94–104; H. Hantsch, “Pan-Slavism,

Contemporary readers are nevertheless warned that the Slavism of early nineteenth-century Hungary had little to do with the Russian imperial expansionism that modern Anglophone readers generally expect. Louis Leo Snyder wrote that “Pan-Slavism was intended to promote the political and cultural unity of all Slavs, even against their will, into a greater Russia that would dominate the world.”⁶ Few Slovaks, and indeed few Habsburg Slavs, ever espoused such beliefs; Snyder particularly errs in linking the 1848 Prague Pan-Slav congress to Russian imperialism. A reference work from 2011 defined Panslavism as “the principle or advocacy of political unification for the Slavic peoples.”⁷ In practice, we will see that most Slavic thinkers from northern Hungary explicitly disavowed any political objectives.

The Slavism articulated in north Hungary rested mostly on the unproblematised assumption of Slavic homogeneity. Slovak literati believed in a single Slavic language, and sometimes in an ethnographic counterpart to the Slavic language: a Slavic people or nation. Insofar as nineteenth-century patriots increasingly came first to equate ‘languages’ with ‘nations,’ and then to treat ‘nations’ as the ultimate fount of political legitimacy, belief in a single Slavic language inevitably had some political ramifications. Nevertheless, Slavic literati in northern Hungary, unlike their counterparts in Croatia, lacked a local tradition of Slavic self-government and generally took less interest in legislative questions. Their characteristic and quintessential activities consisted of pursuits such as composing poetry, collecting folk songs or folktales, writing grammar books, and compiling dictionaries.

One important grammarian and dictionarian from the final years of the eighteenth century, Anton Bernolák, wrote his books in Latin. A Catholic priest, Bernolák went to school in Ružomberok (Rózsashegy, Rosenberg), attended university in Vienna, took holy orders in the city today known as Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg), and spent much of his working life in Trnava

Austro-Slavism, Neo-Slavism: The All-Slav Congresses and the Nationality Problems of Austria-Hungary,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 1 (1965), 23–37; G. Luciani, *Panslavisme et solidarité slave au XIX^e siècle* (Paris 1963); P. Vyšný, *Neo-Slavism and the Czechs, 1898–1914* (Cambridge 1977); S. Terzić, “O istočnom i zapadnom panslavizmu (u 19. i početkom 20. veka)” [On eastern and western Panslavism (in the nineteenth and early twentieth century)], *Istorijski časopis* 53 (2006), 317–332; K. Makowski and F. Halder, eds., *Approaches to Slavic Unity: Austro-Slavism, Pan-Slavism, Neo-Slavism, and Solidarity among the Slavs today* (Poznań 2013); A. Gaşior et al., eds., *Post-Panslavismus: Slavizität, Slavische Idee und Antislavismus im 20. und 21. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen 2014).

6 L. Snyder, *The New Nationalism* (Ithaca 1968), 327.

7 N. Atkin, M. Biddiss and F. Tallett, *The Wiley-Blackwell Dictionary of Modern European History Since 1789* (Oxford 2011), 312.

(Nagyszombat, Tyrnau).⁸ His grammatical works include the 1787 *Dissertatio Philologico-Critica de Literis Slavorum* (Philologico-critical dissertation on the language of the Slavs),⁹ the 1790 *Grammatica Slavica* (Slavic grammar),¹⁰ and finally a six-volume dictionary, published posthumously, which gave Latin, German and Hungarian translations for Slavic words.¹¹

Slovak historiography has retroactively anointed Bernolák “the first codifier of the Slovak language”;¹² one scholar has even asked rhetorically whether written Slovak existed before him.¹³ Nevertheless, Bernolák himself explicitly described the language he codified in Slavic terms. The title of his *Grammatica Slavica* may be difficult to translate: does the Latin word ‘Slavica’ imply ‘Slovak’ or ‘Slavic’? Ascertaining Bernolák’s national sentiments from ambiguous Latin ethnonyms is little better than tasseography; no firm conclusions can rest on such shaky foundations. Indeed, in the 1790s, even the Slavic equivalents *slovenský* and *slavenský* were ambiguous: several experts warn that, in the words of Jozef Ambruš, scholars “have not paid enough attention to the coherent expressions *Slávsky* [Slavic], *slovenský* [Slovak], *Slovensko* [Slovakia] and *Slovenčina*

8 I use the city name favored by whatever government administers the city at the time of writing. This convention achieves consistency at the cost of regrettable anachronism, particularly in the case of “Bratislava.” On the many Slavic names for Bratislava before the twentieth century, see P. Žigo, “Hogyan keletkezett a Bratislava – Braslavespurch – Pressburg (Prešporok) – Pozsony név? / Ako vznikli názvy Bratislava – Braslavespurch – Pressburg (Prešporok) – Pozsony? [How the appellations Bratislava – Braslavespurch – Pressburg (Prešporok) – Pozsony appeared?]” in *Magyar-Szlovák Terminológiai Kérdések / Maďar-Slovenské Terminologické otázky* [Magyar-Slovak Terminological Questions], ed. by Á. Barna (Piliscsaba 2008), 159–162, here 151–154. On Bratislava’s recent Slovakization, see P. Bugge, “The Making of a Slovak City: The Czechoslovak Renaming of Pressburg/Pozsony/Prešporok, 1918–1919,” *Austrian History Yearbook* 35 (2004), 205–227.

9 *Dissertatio Philologico-Critica de Literis Slavorum* [Philologico-Critical Dissertation on the Language of the Slavs] ([Posonii] 1787); hereafter cited from a 20th-century reprint (Bratislava 1964), a work which strangely has two sets of page numbers.

10 A. Bernolák, *Grammatica Slavica* [Slavic Grammar] ([Posonii] 1790).

11 A. Bernolák, *Slovár Slowenská= Česko= Latínsko= Německo= Uherski seu Lexicon Slavicum* [Slovak-Czech-Latin-German-Hungarian Dictionary with Slavic Vocabulary] ([Budaë] 1825–1827).

12 J. M. Kirschbaum, *Anton Bernolák, The First Codifier of the Slovak Language (1762–1812)* (Cleveland [1963]); M. Šebík, *Stručné dejiny Slovákov* [Slovak History in Outline] (Pittsburgh 1940), 61.

13 K. Lifanov, “Spisovná slovenčina existovala aj pred A. Bernolákom?” [Did written Slovak exist before A. Bernolák?], *Jazykovedný časopis* 48 (1997), 104–111.

[the Slovak language].¹⁴ Nevertheless, Bernolák made his implicit Slavism utterly unambiguous with geographical references. The *Grammatica Slavica* claimed that the language described in its pages “is used by the inhabitants of Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Bohemia, Silesia, Lusatia, Poland, Lithuania, Prussia, and Scandinavia, and widely spread in Russia.”¹⁵ Andrej Brestánsky’s German translation of Bernolák’s grammar, furthermore, expressed an equally explicit Slavism with a different set of geographic place names: it refers to “one of the main languages of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Poland, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Moldova, Wallachia, Ukraine, Lithuania, and the great Russian Empire,” as well as “Asiatic Turkey, through Anatolia to Armenia and Persia.”¹⁶ As if to underscore the instability of ethnonyms at the turn of the nineteenth century, furthermore, Brestánsky denoted the concept of ‘Slavic’ with two seemingly different German adjectives: the words ‘schlawische’ and ‘slawische’ both occur twice in the span of two pages.¹⁷

The Slavic world, of course, encompasses great linguistic diversity, and Bernolák’s linguistic works describe only one variety, specifically a Slavic variety spoken in what was then north-west Hungary. The *Dissertatio Philologico-Critica* itself spoke not only of “the Slavic language [*slavicae linguae, linguam slavonicam*],”¹⁸ but also of “the Slavic language in Hungary [*linguae slavonicae in Hungaria*],”¹⁹ spoken by “Pannonian Slavs [*Pannonia Slavorum*].”²⁰ Yet neither Bernolák nor Brestánsky placed much importance on the difference between Hungarian or Pannonian Slavic and the Slavic used elsewhere in the Slavic world. Bernolák’s *Grammatica Slavica* described the Slavic language as “differing only in dialects” from place to place, thus by learning any particular dialect one could “travel almost half of Europe and even Asia.”²¹ Brestánsky similarly urged readers to study Bernolák’s grammar because “among all the different Slavic dialects” the “Slovak Language used in Upper Hungary”

14 J. Ambruš, “Die Slawische Idee bei Ján Hollý,” in *Ludovít Štúr und die Slawische Wechselfeitigheit*, ed. by L. Holotík (Bratislava 1969), 46–49. Ambruš was discussing the poet Ján Hollý; for a similar discussion of Bohuslav Tablic, see T. Locher, *Die Nationale Differenzierung und Integrierung der Slovaken und Tschechen in ihrem Geschichtlichen Verlauf bis 1848* (Haarlem 1931) 106.

15 Bernolák, *Grammatica Slavica*, v.

16 A. Bernolák, *Schlowakische Grammatik* [Slavic Grammar] ([Ofen] 1817), [i]–[ii].

17 *Ibid.*, ii–iv (no page numbers).

18 Bernolák, *Dissertatio*, 22 / x, 24 / xiv.

19 *Ibid.*, 18 / iii.

20 *Ibid.*, 18 / v.

21 Bernolák, *Grammatica Slavica*, v.

supposedly possessed the delicacy and richness of vocabulary closest to the original Slavic.²² Bernolák thus imagined his linguistic works as a door to the Slavic world as a whole, not merely to Slavic northern Hungary.

While Bernolák's works presume Slavic unity in an ethnolinguistic sense, they did not seek to mobilise or organise Slavs for any particular agenda. Indeed, their intended audience included non-Slavs. Brestánsky's German translation, unsurprisingly, addressed "German youths wishing to learn this language,"²³ but the introduction to Bernolák's Latin text also commended various non-Slavs who had studied it.²⁴ He urged his readers to use the grammar for their own benefit, and proclaimed as his personal motive the desire to "promote the glory of God."²⁵ Susana Vykopil suggests that Bernolák's work was "entirely stamped from the rational spirit of the Enlightenment,"²⁶ and as such, it predated the romantic nationalism of the nineteenth century not merely chronologically, but in spirit.

From the perspective of Catholic Enlightenment, Bernolák's decision to publish in Latin makes perfect sense. Before 1800, most books published in Slavic northern Hungary were published in Latin. Consider, as a sample corpus of texts, 753 "slovakical" books listed in the Brno university library catalogue. A full 80 per cent of titles published before 1800 were written in Latin. Another 9 per cent were published in Slavic, 9 per cent in German, 1 per cent in Hungarian, and 0.5 per cent in French.²⁷ The Jesuit press in Trnava (Nagyszombat, Tyrnau) printed seven Latin books for every Slavic book produced in upper Hungary, it used Latin for catechisms and other religious works. Nevertheless, publishers in Levoča (Lőcse, Leutschau), a city with strong Protestant traditions, also published primarily in Latin, if not as overwhelmingly as their Catholic counterparts in Trnava. Before 1800, Levoča publishers taken together published 557 Latin books (39 per cent of all titles), 331 Hungarian books (23 per cent), 320 German books (22 per cent) and 234 Slavic books (16 per cent).²⁸ Latin

22 Bernolák, *Schlowakische Grammatik*, [iv]–[v].

23 *Ibid.*, [viii].

24 Bernolák, *Grammatica Slavica*, viii–ix.

25 *Ibid.*, xvi.

26 S. Vykopil, *Słowakei* (Munich 1999), 131.

27 *Katalóg slovakických kníh do roku 1800 univerzitnej knižnice v Brne* [Catalogue of Slovakical Books until 1800 in the University Library of Brno] (Martin 1969). Statistics gathered by the author.

28 L. Dzurilla, *Život Levoče v období tzv. „Bachovo“ Neoabsolutizmu* [The life of Levoča in the era of "Bach" Absolutism], Ph.D. Thesis, (Ružomberok 2003), 18. Dzurilla cites J. Mišianik, *Dejiny Levočského kníhtlačiarstva* [The History of Levoča Book Publishing] (Trnava 1945), 48.

would lose its status as the primary vehicle for education and learning in the 1830s and 1840s, but in the 1790s it remained the obvious medium for grammar books and dictionaries.

During the 1780s, Slovak intellectuals also used Latin to debate the history of Hungary's Slavs. In 1784, for example, Jesuit Juraj Sklenár wrote a Latin-language history of Great Moravia, *Vetvstissimus Magnae Moraviae situs et primvs in eam Hvngrarvm ingressvs et incurvs* (The most ancient site of Greater Moravia; its first Hungarian penetration and invasion),²⁹ prompting István Katona's 1786 angry rebuttal, *Examen vetvstissimi M. Moraviae stivs* (An examination of Great Moravia's ancient site).³⁰ Sklenár and Katona continued their polemic until the French Revolution.³¹ Several key themes in Slovak historiography emerged from their debate.³²

Catholic priest Juraj Papánek also wrote in Latin to rebut István Salgai's interpretation of Hungarian history with his *De regno regibusque Slavorum* (The kingdom and its Slavic rulers), first printed in Pécs (Pečuj, Fünfkirchen) in 1780, later reprinted in digest form as *Compendiata Historia gentis Slavae* (Brief history of the Slavic people) in Trnava in 1793.³³ Papánek's book, incidentally, also illustrates the peril of relying on ethnonyms alone. Peter Petro problematically translated its title as "the History of the Slovak Nation," even though Papánek's text considered not only Great Moravia as a proto-Slovak state, but also "the Slavs living between the Sava and the Drava."³⁴ As concerns "the letters and language of the Slavs," Papánek discussed the Latin, Cyrillic, and Glagolitic alphabets.³⁵ Petro himself conceded that Papánek, who

29 J. Sklenár, *Vetvstissimus Magnae Moraviae situs et primus in eam Hvngrarvm ingressus et incurvs* [The Most Ancient Site of Greater Moravia; its First Hungarian Penetration and Invasion], ([Posonii] 1784).

30 I. Katona, *Examen vetvstissimi M. Moraviae stivs* ([Pestini] 1786), see especially the preface.

31 J. Sklenár, *Hypercriticon: examinis vetvstissimi M. Moraviae stivs* [A Judgement on the Examination of Great Moravia's Ancient Site] ([Posonii] 1788); I. Katona, *Vetus Moravia rursus ad suos limites reducta* [Old Moravia reduced to its borders] ([Budae] 1789).

32 D. Roberts, "1776 and 1789 in Slovakia," in *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe: Junctures and Disjunctures in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. by M. Cornis-Pope and J. Neubauer (Amsterdam 2004), 314; J. Tibenský, "Juraj Sklenár a jeho spor s Katonom o rozlohe Vel'kej Moravy" [Juraj Sklenár and his conflict with Katona on the extent of the Great Moravia], *Historický zborník* 5 (1947), 350–373.

33 J. Papánek, *De regno regibusque Slavorum* [On the Kingdom and the Kings of the Slavs] ([Quinque-Ecclesiis] 1780); Juraj Papánek, *Compendiata Historia gentis Slavae* [Brief History of the Slavic People] (Tyrnaviae 1793). All citations below from the second edition.

34 Papánek, *Compendiata Historia gentis Slavae*, 185.

35 *Ibid.*, 255.

wrote his book after he had settled in a Croatian community in the southern Hungarian town of Olasz (Ahlaß, Olas) “was writing as much for the Croats as for the Slovaks.”³⁶ The works of Bernolák, Sklenár, and Papánek suggest that Latin remained the primary medium for literary scholarship, historical debate, and interethnic polemic in the 1780s and 1790s.

By the 1820s, however, Enlightenment rationalism started giving way to Romantic nationalism. German began to displace Latin as a medium for articulating national ideas. The struggle against Magyarisation, for example, rested on the analytical distinction between the concepts ‘Hungarian’ and ‘Magyar,’ the latter implying speakers of the Hungarian language and the former inhabitants of the Hungarian kingdom regardless of ethnicity or mother tongue.³⁷ According to Moritz Csáky, the distinction between ‘civic’ Hungarians and ‘ethnic’ Magyars was first drawn in Latin, specifically in a private letter of 30 March 1778.³⁸ The first Slovak to make this distinction in public, however, did so in German. In an 1820 article on Hungarian ethnography, Ján Csaplovics differentiated as follows: “all the peoples living in Hungary; Slovaks as well as Wallachians, Germans as well as Vandals, etc., all are *Ungarn*, because they live in Hungary. *Magyaren*, on the other hand, are only those who form the main nation, those who call themselves the *Magyarok*.”³⁹ Csaplovics used the same distinction in a noted 1829 book on Hungary, the German-language *Gemälde von Ungern* (Pictures of Hungary).⁴⁰

Yet the difference between ‘Hungarians’ and ‘Magyars’ truly arrived on the Hungarian political stage in 1833, when Samuel Hoitsy anonymously published a pamphlet posing the fatal question: *Sollen wir Magyaren werden?* (Should we

36 P. Petro, *History of Slovak Literature* (Montreal 1995), 44.

37 M. Csáky, “‘Hungarus’ oder ‘Magyar’: Zwei Varianten des ungarischen Nationalbewußtseins zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Annales, Sectio Historica* 22 (1982), 71–78; A. Maxwell, “Magyarization, Language Planning, and Whorf—The Word ‘Uhor’ as a Case Study in Linguistic Relativism,” *Multilingua* 23 (2004), 319–337.

38 Letter from Daniel Cornides to Thomas Roth; cited from M. Csáky, “Die Hungarus-Konzeption: Eine ‘realpolitische’ Variante zur magyarischen Nationalstaatsidee,” in *Ungarn und Österreich unter Maria Theresia und Joseph II.: Neue Aspekte im Verhältnis der beiden Länder*, ed. by A. Wandruszka (Wien 1982), 80. Csáky cites the Magyar Tudományok Akadémia Kézirattár, Magyar Ir. Lev. 4r, 5r, 52, 1.K.

39 German ethnonyms for “Hungarian” left untranslated. See J. Csaplovics, “Vaterlandskunde: Ethnographische Miszellen von Ungarn,” *Hesperus: Encyclopaedische Zeitschrift für gebildete Leser* 27, no. 20 (Oct. 1820), 154.

40 J. Csaplovics, *Gemälde von Ungern* (Pesth 1829), 1: 24.

become Magyars?).⁴¹ Hoitsy, like Csaplovics, wrote in German, which by the 1820s was becoming an increasingly important medium for interethnic communication in northern Hungary. Nevertheless, Hoitsy's follow-up volume, the 1843 *Apologie des ungrischen Slavismus* (Apology of Hungarian Slavism), while also written in German, treated Latin as an important medium for political debate. In a passage distinguishing terms such as 'nation,' 'nationality,' 'people' and 'fatherland,' Hoitsy offered Slavic, Hungarian, and Latin translations for all of his distinctions. For example, he equated the German *Volk* with the Slavic *národ*, Hungarian *nép* or *faj*, and Latin *gens*. He then rendered the German *Nation* with Slavic *Národ* (with capital N), Hungarian *nemzet* and Latin *populus*.⁴² Hoitsy gave Hungarian glosses in an ultimately futile attempt to persuade ethnic Hungarians (Magyars) to abandon the policy of Magyarisation. His Latin, however, illustrates the continuing importance of Latin-language concepts in public debate.

Slavs from northern Hungary continued using Latin to discuss Slavism well into the Romantic era. Surprisingly, the term 'Panslavism' itself was coined in a Latin-language text: the word first appears in Ján Herkel's 1826 *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae* (Elements of a universal Slavic language).⁴³ Herkel, a lawyer in Pest (Pešt, Pesh), remains an obscure figure; he is so little discussed that some reference works mistakenly describe him as a Czech.⁴⁴ Herkel, like Bernolák, stressed the ultimate linguistic unity of the Slavic world. He posited a single Slavic language with several different dialects which "differed more or less with strange vocabulary, even though the original expressions are still present in all dialects."⁴⁵ Herkel also provided grammatical information about the various dialects, presenting for example several declination charts for nouns and adjectives.

As a grammarian, Herkel lacked Bernolák's depth, but he transcended Bernolák with his boldness as a reformer. Bernolák's grammar was as much descriptive as proscriptive. Herkel, by contrast, proposed radical changes to Slavic orthography. Herkel presented a single alphabet, intended as equally

41 S. Hoitsy, *Sollen wir Magyaren Werden? Sechs Briefe geschrieben aus Pesth* [Should we become Magyars? Six Letters Written from Pest] (Karlstadt 1833), see part. p. 1, fn.

42 S. Hoitsy, *Apologie des ungrischen Slavismus*, (Leipzig 1843), 12.

43 J. Herkel, *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae* [Elements of a Universal Slavic Language], ([Budaë] 1826).

44 E. J. Osmańczyk, *Encyclopedia of the United Nations and International Agreements* (London 2003), 1762; I. Katchanovski et al., *Historical Dictionary of Ukraine* (Lanham, MD 2013), 431.

45 Herkel, *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae*, 17.

valid for all Slavic dialects. He specifically proposed a basic alphabet with 27 letters: a b c ч d e f g h x i j y k l m n o p r s ш t u v z z. While most letters come from the Latin alphabet, Herkel used three Cyrillic letters, ч ш and x, but for some reason rejected Cyrillic ж, introducing in its place his own creation, z.⁴⁶ If a particular Slavic dialect had a sound not present in other Slavic dialects, furthermore, Herkel even permitted individual letters to represent those sounds. Polish, for example, has two nasal vowels not found in other parts of the Slavic world, so Herkel acknowledged the need for Polish to keep their unique letters ą and ę. He equivocated somewhat on the Polish digraph rz, however: he personally favored its abolition, suggesting that “the Bohemians have already eliminated z with r, [...] we would not be discouraged if the same would happen with the Poles.” Nevertheless, he accepted that its fate should ultimately “be left to the Poles.”⁴⁷

Since “the only impediment to the literature of the Slavic nations was diversity of letters for writing, in other words orthography,” Herkel promoted “*unity in literature* among all Slavs, which is the true Panslavism [*verus panslavismus*].” He further insisted that Panslavism could “blossom despite geographic, historical and political diversity,” and even allowed that the Slavic peoples were divided into different ‘nations.’⁴⁸ Herkel’s book ends with sample texts in various dialects, including Russian, Ukrainian (“maloruska”), Polish and Serbian. Herkel did not posit a freestanding ‘Slovak’ dialect, but did distinguish Bohemian from ‘Pannonian.’ Herkel thus defined Panslavism not in political but in literary terms; indeed, his Panslavism might best be described as ‘orthographic.’ Herkel did not seek to impose homogeneity of vocabulary or grammatical declinations. He only wanted Slavic literati to change their spelling.

Given that Herkel’s arguments were directed exclusively to Slavs, his choice of Latin calls for explanation. Bernolák, recall, had intended his work for all interested in Slavic languages, Slavs and non-Slavs alike. Herkel, by contrast, wrote only for Slavs. The educational background of Herkel’s intended audience provides the strongest explanation. Herkel wrote not for a mass audience, but specifically addressed Slavic literati: educators, writers, men of letters. Furthermore, most Slavic literati in Slavic northern Hungary belonged to clergy. In the 1830s, English migrant John Paget witnessed nobles speaking German or Hungarian, but observed “among the churchmen, Latin is still sometimes the medium of conversation.”⁴⁹ Hungarian clergy felt comfortable

46 Ibid., 11.

47 Herkel generally disliked digraphs. See Ibid., 12.

48 Ibid., 4, 5.

49 J. Paget, *Hungary and Transylvania* (London 1839), 1: 23.

with Latin not only because of its possible religious significance or erudite connotations, but also because they had devoted more of their schooling to Latin than to vernacular languages.⁵⁰

Slavic linguistic diversity may also have played a role in Herkel's choice of language. Had Herkel written in his native 'Pannonian' dialect, potential Polish, Croatian, Ukrainian, or Russian readers might have misunderstood, or perhaps taken umbrage. Even Slavic literati who believed in a single Slavic language felt particularistic pride in their individual 'dialects.' Where Latin had served Bernolák as an international language for a multilingual international audience, it served Herkel as an interdialectal language for a multi-dialectical Slavic audience.

If Herkel thought a Latin text would win him a wide readership in the Slavic world, however, his strategy suggests a certain failure to consider conditions beyond Hungary. Literati in Russia, for example, were more likely to have studied French or German.⁵¹ Herkel's text would probably have reached a wider audience in German, a language that Herkel probably learnt during his legal studies.

Several subsequent Slavic thinkers from northern Hungary wrote in German, and reached a wider audience. Consider Jan Kollár's important work on "Slavic Reciprocity," often referred to merely as "Reciprocity." Kollár, a Lutheran pastor, preached sermons on Reciprocity in 1832, refining his ideas in his voluminous correspondence with various Slavic literati. Kollár first articulated his Slavdom in an 1836 essay originally printed in Banská Bystrica (Besztercebánya, Neusohl) in the so-called Biblical Czech orthography used by Slovak Lutherans.⁵² Some of Kollár's correspondents showed great interest in his ideas,⁵³ so in 1837 Kollár expanded his 14-page essay into a 132-page German book.⁵⁴

Kollár's ideal of Reciprocity showed some continuity with Herkel's thinking. Kollár argued for orthographic convergence while accepting that different Slavic dialects would retain their individual distinctiveness, since "most

50 L. Csóka, *Mária Terézia iskolareformja és Kollár Adam* [Maria Theresa's School Reform and Adam Kollár], (Pannonhalma 1936).

51 D. Shlapentokh, *The French Revolution in Russian Intellectual Life: 1865–1905* (Westport 1996), 122.

52 J. Kollár, "O literárnég Wzágemnosti" [On literary reciprocity], *Hronka: Podtatranská Zábavnice* 1, no. 2 (1836), 39–53.

53 See e.g. Lj. Gaj, "Odgovor" [Reply], *Danica Horvatska, Slavonska i Dalmatinska* 1, no. 31 (1835), 122.

54 J. Kollár, *Über die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slawischen Nation* [On Literary Reciprocity between the various Tribes and Dialects of the Slavic Nation], (Pesth 1837).

Slavs have over the centuries grown attached to their dialect with sacred love, and have gone too far in their particular education and literature to wish to return.⁵⁵ Yet he additionally urged all Slavs to learn each other's dialects by compiling and studying comparative dictionaries and grammars, trading and reading books written in other dialects, and so forth. Kollár specifically praised Herkel's initiative, even though he never used his orthography.⁵⁶ Kollár himself proposed a "pan-dialectical Slavic *Literary Magazine*, in which every new Slavic work should be shown and discussed in its original dialect."⁵⁷ Kollár, finally, entertained expansive ideas about the various 'dialects': he saw "we Slovaks, Czechs, Moravians, Silesians and partly Lusatians too" as "one national tribe"⁵⁸ speaking a characteristic Slavo-Czech dialect of the Slavic language. These ideas profoundly influenced intellectuals throughout the Slavic world.⁵⁹

Though Kollár addressed his audience in German, the text of the extended German-language edition still contained significant Latin content. Kollár quoted several neo-Latin authors other than Herkel without providing any

55 Ibid., 11.

56 Ibid., 88–89.

57 Ibid., 123.

58 J. Kollár, "O českoslowenské jednotě v řeči a v literatře" [On Czechoslovak Unity in Language and Literature], in *Hlasové o potřebě jednoty spisovného jazyka pro Čechy, Moravany a Slováky* [Voices on the need for a single written language for Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks] (Praze 1846), 124.

59 See e.g. J. Horák, *Slovanská vzájemnost, 1836–1936: sborník prací k 100. výročí vydání rozpravy Jana Kollára o slovanské vzájemnosti* [Slovak Reciprocity, 1836–1936: A Collection of Works for the centennial of Jan Kollár's Sermon on Slavic Reciprocity] (Prague 1938); R. Auty, "Jan Kollár, 1793–1852," *Slavonic and East European Review* 31, no. 76 (Dec. 1952), 74–91; G. Thomas, "Ján Kollár's Thesis of Slavic Reciprocity and the Convergence of the Intellectual Vocabularies of the Czech, Slovak, Slovene, Croatian and Serbian Standard Languages," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 34, no. 3 (Sept. 1992), 279–299; N. Stančić, "Ideja o 'slavenskoj uzajamnosti' Jána Kollára i njezina hrvatska recepcija" [Jan Kollár's Idea of "Slavic Reciprocity" and its Croatian Reception], *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 30 (1997), 65–76; O. Plotnikova, "Idei slavjanskoj vzaimnosti i slovenskij literaturnyj jazyk XIX veka" [The idea of Slavic Reciprocity and the Slovak literary language in the 19th century], in *Slavjanskije literaturnye jazyki epohi nacional'nogo vozrozhdenija* [Slavic literary languages in the epoch of national revival], ed. by G. Venediktov (Moscow 1998), 135–150; P. Kunze, "The Sorbian National Renaissance and Slavic Reciprocity in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Slavonic Papers / Revue Canadienne des Slavistes*, 41, no. 2 (June 1999), 189–206; A. Maxwell, "Ján Kollár's Linguistic Nationalism," in *Reciprocity Between the Tribes and Dialects of the Slavic Language* (Bloomington 2009), 1–72.

translation: he evidently assumed his readers had been educated in Latin.⁶⁰ When urging Slavs to “consider all Slavs as brothers in a great family, and to create a reciprocal all-Slavic literature,” Kollár also offered a Slavic twist on a classical epigram: *Slavis sum, nihil Slavici a me alienum esse puto* (“I am a Slav, nothing Slavic is alien to me”).⁶¹ Kollár’s national reinterpretation of Terence, incidentally, found a broad audience: it served as an epigram for the multi-orthographic Warsaw literary journal *Dennitsa: literaturnaia gazeta – Jutrzienka, pismo literackie* (Morning Star: Literary Magazine), published in both Russian and Polish.⁶² Kollár’s friendliness to Latin may derive not only from his own clerical education, but perhaps also from his quixotic belief that “the oldest settlers in Italy were Slavs” and that “Latin was originally one of the old Slavonic dialects.”⁶³

Slovak authors continued to use Latin phrases into the 1840s. In his 1846 *Nárečja slovenskuo alebo potreba písaniže v tomto nárečje* (The Slovak dialect, or the need to write in this dialect), published in Pressburg (Bratislava), Ľudovít Štúr, like his predecessors, posited a single Slavic language divided into tribes. Historians have not always taken Štúr’s Slavism seriously, perhaps because his great importance to Slovak history has made him an icon of Slovak nationalism. Let it be emphasised: Štúr, like Kollár, believed in a single Slavic language, which encompassed Russian, Czech, Polish, etc. as mere dialects. Štúr broke with Kollár, however, in positing a distinct Slovak dialect. As the key passage of Štúr’s work proclaimed, “we Slovaks are a tribe, and as a tribe we have our own dialect, which is distinct and different from Czech.”⁶⁴

Štúr addressed *Nárečja slovenskuo* not to the Slavic world as a whole, but to an exclusively Slovak audience. He therefore wrote in Slovak, specifically in a distinctively Slovak orthography of his own invention. Štúr also wrote his grammar book in Slovak.⁶⁵ Bernolák had sought to make his book accessible to non-native language learners, and Herkel had addressed literati of different tribes, but Štúr addressed Slovak literati exclusively. When Štúr’s proposals provoked a scandal and uproar, the ensuing polemic took place in Slavic, with

60 Kollár, *Wechselseitigkeit*, 21, 53, 61, 78, 89.

61 *Ibid.*, 13.

62 L. Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford 2012), 129.

63 Jan Kollár, *Staroitalia Slavjanska* [Slavic Ancient Italy] (Vienna 1853), 1, xiii.

64 Ľ. Štúr, *Nárečja slovenskuo alebo potreba písaniže v tomto nárečje* [The Slovak Dialect or the Need to Write in this Dialect] ([Prešporok] 1846), 51.

65 Ľ. Štúr, *Nauka reči slovenskej* [Handbook of Slovak] ([Prešporok] 1846).

Štúr's supporters writing in the new orthography,⁶⁶ and his detractors using varieties of Czech.⁶⁷ Štúr perhaps felt more comfortable than Kollár writing his polemic in Slavic because his intended audience shared his particular 'dialect.' Yet the controversy over Štúr's grammar suggests that by the 1840s, Slavic literati felt increasingly comfortable addressing a Slavic reading public in Slavic.

Even in *Nářečja slovenskuo*, however, Latin still made an appearance. Knowing that some Slovak literati were unused to conducting intellectual life in Slavic, Štúr provides parenthetical explanations throughout the text for various neologisms or technical terms. When discussing the 'tribalism' of the Slavic nation, for example, Štúr glossed *kmenovitoť* as "die Gliederung in Stämme, divisio in stirpes."⁶⁸ In total, Štúr also felt the need to explain his Slovak words for 'essence,' 'artist,' 'monument,' 'poet,' 'concept' and, perhaps most surprisingly, Kollár's watchword, 'reciprocity.'⁶⁹

Štúr's linguistic choices suggest that, by 1846, German had overtaken Latin as the language of public life in Slavic north Hungary. In *Nářečja slovenskuo*, Štúr glossed 22 Slovak terms into both German and Latin, but 25 words into German alone. Only four words received Latin translations without German. Štúr also used German in his 1843 polemic against Magyarisation, directed primarily at a Magyar reading public.⁷⁰ Yet when addressing a Slovak audience, German and Latin played but auxiliary roles. For both his grammar book and his polemic to other Slovaks, Štúr had abandoned Latin for vernacular Slavic. Though his preferred orthography was ultimately supplanted by the subsequent work of Martin Hattala, Štúr wrote in Slovak. During early nineteenth century, therefore, Slavic literati in northern Hungary increasingly rejected Latin as a medium for discussing and debating the Slavic language.

The decline of Latin, however, must not be overstated. In 1847, on the eve of the Hungarian revolution, extensive work on Slavic linguistics, *Epigenes Slovenicus* (Slovak descent), appeared in Latin. The author, Protestant pastor and national awakener Michal Hodža, often referred to as M. M. Hodža and

66 Miroslav Hurban, *Českje hlasi proti Slovenčiňe* [Czech Voices Against Slovak] (Skalice 1846).

67 *Hlasové o potřebě jednoty*; S. Launer, *Povaha Slovanstva se zvláštním ohledem na spisovní řeč Čechů, Moravanů, Slezáků a Slováků* [The nature of Slavdom with a particular focus on the written language of Czechs, Moravians, Silesians and Slovaks] (Leipzig 1847).

68 Štúr, *Nářečja slovenskuo*, 10.

69 With the Slavic declinations in Štúr's text: podstatou (essentia, Wesen), umelec (artifex, Künstler), spevca (Dichter, poeta), pochop (Begriff, conceptus), pomníki (Denkmal, monumentum), vzájemnosti (Wechselseitigkeit, nexus reciprocus). Ibid., 12, 15, 29, 29, 34, 14.

70 Ludovít Štúr printed a German translation in *Beschwerden und Klagen der Slaven in Ungarn über die gesetzwidrigen Uebergriffe der Magyaren* (Leipzig 1843).

not to be confused with his nephew Milan Hodža, was a personal friend of Štúr's. Hodža had, for example, participated in a fateful meeting of July 1846 in Hlboké (Luboka), at which Štúr proposed his new Slovak codification.

Epigenes Slovenicus consists mostly of fairly technical linguistic description. Sometimes, Hodža focuses on Slovak. His discussion of diphthongs, for example, briefly compares Slovak to Czech, Polish, Lusatian, Illyrian and Russian, but then discusses four sub-dialects of Slovak in detail.⁷¹ Elsewhere, however, Hodža considers the Slavic world as a whole: the chapter on orthography describes 21 separate alphabets, of which only four were relevant to Slavic north Hungary: Biblical Czech (from the Králice Bible), Štúr's Latin alphabet, Bernolák's Latin alphabet, and Bernolák's gothic alphabet.⁷² A discussion of vowel phonetics, finally, compares seven varieties of the "*lingua slavica* [Slavic language]" to Greek, Latin, German, and Hungarian.⁷³ The linguistic part of Hodža's text, in other words, was arguably as much Slavic as Slovak, though also as much Slovak as Slavic.

The opening chapter of *Epigenes Slovenicus*, however, reveals Slovak particularism in a celebratory history of linguistic thought in Slavic northern Hungary. Hodža hailed Bernolák's "splendid erudition, such as no other among the Slavs of Hungary then had at his disposal,"⁷⁴ particularly praising his phonological rather than an etymological orthography. He celebrated Kollár for having "understood the nature of the whole Slavic language" and particularly for having "detected the genuine or idiomatic nature of the Slavic dialect," which, Hodža declared has "more Slavness than others, particularly Czech, to recommend it."⁷⁵ Finally, Hodža glorified his personal friend Štúr as "a young man utterly dedicated to his nation," praising Štúr's grammar without mentioning his own role in its codification.

Kollár, Štúr, and Hodža all posited a single Slavic language divided into 'dialects,' but Hodža, despite his warm words for Kollár, decidedly supported Štúr's hypothesis of a distinct Slovak dialect. He also borrowed extensively from Štúr's *Slovenskuo Nárečja*, despite inverting the first two words of the title.⁷⁶

71 The four sub-dialects are Slovak proper, Bohemo-Slovak, Polno-Slovak and Rusyno-Slovak. See M. Hodža, *Epigenes Slovenicus* [Slovak descent] ([Leutschoviae] 1847), 30–31. Thanks to Lav Šubarić for translating extensive passages of Hodža's text for me.

72 In Latin letters, "xvii. Slovenicum (Štúrii)," "xviii. Bohemo-slovenicum (Bernolákii)," and in Gothic letters "xix. Bohemicum Kralicense" and "xx. Bohemo-Slovenicum Bernolákianum." See Hodža, *Epigenes Slovenicus*, 21–22.

73 *Ibid.*, 39.

74 *Ibid.*, 6.

75 *Ibid.*, 9.

76 *Ibid.*, 11.

Hodža decision to write in Latin seems the most surprising of all the Slavic-minded texts discussed here. In contrast to Bernolák's *Grammatica Slavica*, nothing in *Epigenes Slovenicus* is directed at non-Slavic readers. In contrast to Herkel's *Elementa Universalis Linguae Slavicae* (to say nothing of Kollár's *Wechselseitigkeit*), *Epigenes Slovenicus*, or at least the opening chapter, was directed primarily at Slovaks, not the Slavic world as a whole. Hodža explicitly proclaimed the "duty to help the very busy Štúr and to consolidate and conserve this new enterprise."⁷⁷

So why did Hodža write in Latin, and not in Štúr's Slovak? Hodža himself claimed he had written in "that nourishing foster-language, Latin" in order to reach "those who, as is usual for the Slavs, fear everything Slavic in private and public life."⁷⁸ Hodža wrote primarily for literati, and though he criticised Slavic literati for their lack of linguistic patriotism, real or imagined, he believed they would respond better to Latin than to Štúr's newfangled codification.

The continuing importance of Latin as a scholarly language also explains why the aforementioned Martin Hattala, the definitive codifier of standard Slovak, wrote the relevant 1851 grammar first in Latin, publishing in Slavic only two years later.⁷⁹ Hattala became professor of linguistics at Charles University in Prague in 1854 and ultimately led a highly successful academic career.⁸⁰ He used Latin for many of his scholarly works, including an analysis of Slavic consonant changes, and a comparative study of the ablative case in Slovak and Lithuanian.⁸¹ University professors in linguistics, no less than priests, continued to use Latin throughout the nineteenth century.

77 Ibid., 13.

78 Ibid.

79 M. Hattala, *Grammatica linguae slovenicae, collatae cum proxime cognata bohémica* [A Grammar of the Slovak Language, Closely Compared with Czech] ([Schemnitzii] 1850); *Krátka Mluvnica slovenská* [Short Slovak Grammar] ([Prešporok] 1852).

80 E. Jóna, "Martin Hattala, 1821–1903," *Jazykovedný časopis* 7 (1953), 15–33; E. Jóna, *Martin Hattala a spisovná slovenčina 1821–1903* [Martin Hattala and Written Slovak, 1821–1903] (Martin 1961); *Martin Hattala, 1821–1903: Materiál z konferencie konanej v Trstenej* [Martin Hattala, 1821–1903: Material from a Conference Held in Trstená], ed. by J. Ružička (Trstená 1971); J. Chovan, *Martin Hattala, 1821–1903* (Martin 1981); K. Sedláková, "Osobnosť a práce Martina Hattalu v oblasti slovakistiky a slavistiky na základe archívnych prameňov" [Life and work of Martin Hattala in the fields of Slovak and Slavic studies on the basis of archival sources], *Slavica Slovaca* 42 (2007), 136–140.

81 M. Hattala, *O ablativě ve slovenčině a litvančině* [The Ablative in Slovak and Lithuanian] (Prague 1858); M. Hattala, *De mutatione contiguarum consonantium in linguis slaviciis* [On Changes in Contiguous Consonants in the Slavic Language] (Prague 1865).

Yet while Latin remained a language of liturgy and erudition during the second half of the nineteenth century, it had expired as a medium for popular discussion and political debate. When writing for a pan-Hungarian, or pan-Habsburg audience, Slovak authors increasingly used German. In his 1848 German-language polemic about Hungary's language laws, Hodža himself dismissed Latin as "a dead language" and "a remnant of the Middle Ages."⁸² In an 1850 collection of patriotic musings, Jonáš Záborsky similarly disavowed "dead Latin," demanding instead that "in the new era the Slovak will be equal to the Magyar, as he was before; that he will be able to use his language publicly, like the Magyar."⁸³ Záborsky, incidentally, still retained his Slavism in 1850, the year in which he proposed "a general Slavic academy for the Austrian Slavs." The governing board of this academy was to have representatives from each 'tribe' of the Slavic nation living in the Habsburg Empire. Poles, for example, would have four votes; Croats would have two. Záborsky granted Slovaks a distinct tribal status (and two votes), but he also distinguished Bohemians from Moravians (four votes and two votes, respectively).⁸⁴ The position of Slovak within the Slavic world remained contested for the rest of the nineteenth century; the relative status of Czech, Slovak, and Czechoslovak was resolved only in the twentieth.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, the broader point about the decline of Latin holds: Slovak authors increasingly wrote for the Slovak public in some variety of Slavic.

The 1848 Revolution also marked the high-water mark of Slavism as a theme in Slavic national thought. The Slavic Congress in Prague, which convened in May 1848, would later inspire a series of Slav congresses, but no subsequent congress proved able to set a political agenda.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the Slavic Congress, however bright its idealism or bold its ambitions, proved unusually impotent, even in a revolutionary year that everywhere disappointed the

82 M. Hodža, *Der Slovak: Beiträge zur Beleuchtung der slawischen Frage in Ungarn* [The Slovak: Contributions to Illuminate the Slavic Question in Hungary] (Prague 1848), 16.

83 J. Záborsky, "Ohavnost odrodilosti mezi námi Slováky" [The abomination of denationalisation among us Slovaks], *Žehry: Básně a dvě řeči* (Vienna 1851), 170.

84 *Südslavische Zeitung* 2, no. 23 (28 Jan. 1850), 56.

85 Locher, *Die Nationale Differenzierung*; O. Johnson, *Slovakia 1918–1938: Education and the Making of the Nation* (Boulder 1985); A. Maxwell, *Choosing Slovakia: Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language, and Accidental Nationalism* (London 2009).

86 M. Flack, *The Slav-Congresses and Pan-Slavism, 1848–1914*. (Medford 1953); O. Odložilik, "The Slavic Congress of 1848," *Polish Review* 4, no. 4 (1959), 3–16; H. Kohn, "The Impact of Pan-Slavism on Central Europe," *The Review of Politics* 23 (1961), 323–333; S. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848* (Chapel Hill 1969); *Der Prager Slavenkongress 1848*, ed. by A. Moritsch et al. (Vienna 2000).

hopes of democrats, patriots, and idealists. Yet even Slovaks whose Slavism remained apolitical and literary found that the Slavic Congress dispelled chimerical visions of linguistic unity. The various Slavic patriots gathered in Prague found, to their surprise, that they had difficulty understanding each other. After 1848, Slavs could no longer indulge in the fantasy of straightforward mutual comprehension.

Linguistic difficulties at the Slavic Congress provoked a controversy, never definitively resolved, about the use of German as a vehicle for inter-Slavic communication. As one Galician delegate recalled, “we pretended that we understood each other perfectly. However, when we wanted to know what was really happening, it was necessary to ask the speaker to repeat his remarks in German.”⁸⁷ Lawrence Orton, after careful analysis, found “no substantive evidence that the Slavs found it necessary to use German or any other non-Slavic language,” but conceded that the diversity of Slavic vernaculars may have left some delegates “feigning comprehension.”⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the German press so gleefully mocked the Slavic congress that delegates and journalists found themselves insisting, with wounded pride, not merely that “we spoke Slavic in all of our meetings, and—apart from a few isolated instances—we understood each other very well,” but that delegates spoke more French than German!⁸⁹ Yet whatever the true level of comprehension, or the true extent to which German or French was spoken, it seems that Latin played no significant role.

After 1848, the medium of inter-Slavic communication increasingly became German, or occasionally Russian. Conveniently, Štúr nicely illustrates both trends. While most European patriots experienced the year 1849 as a disillusionment, the triumphant counter-revolution left Štúr unusually bitter. After the Habsburg monarchy restored its authority, he wrote a final Panslav polemic while under police observation. Štúr’s manuscript, published only posthumously, urged Slavs to adopt the Russian alphabet and convert to Russian Orthodoxy. Štúr, like Kollár before him, used German to address the Slavic world, but his manuscript first found its way into print in Russian translation. The original German only appeared as a scholarly curiosity in 1931; a Slovak translation did not appear until 1991.⁹⁰

87 L. Orton, “Did the Slavs Speak German at Their First Congress?” *Slavic Review* 33 (1974), 515–521, at 517.

88 Orton, “Did the Slavs Speak German at Their First Congress?” 518, 516.

89 “Der Slawencongreß” [The Slavic congress], *Südslavische Zeitung* 1, no. 19 (15 Feb. 1849), 73.

90 L. Štúr, *Slavjanstvo i mir budushchago* [Slavdom and the world of the future] (Moscow 1867); *Das Slawenthum und die Welt der Zukunft* (Bratislava 1931); *Slovanstvo a svet budúcnost* [trans.] (Bratislava 1993).

In short, Slavs from northern Hungary mostly ceased using Latin to discuss their Slavism after the Revolution of 1848. Nevertheless, the most surprising feature of the story remains the popularity of Latin as a vehicle for articulating Slavism. Slovak Panslavs wrote in Latin throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and particularly during the increasingly bitter ethnolinguistic struggles of the 1840s.

Slavic thinkers had various motives for using Latin. Hungarian tradition played a part: “for ages, the Latin has been in use for matters of common concern,”⁹¹ if the 1818 remarks of visiting French savant François Beudant may stand for numerous observers, both foreign and domestic. Latin also helped scholars reach a larger readership. Julia Pardoe, an English visitor to Hungary, noted that for Hungarian authors “Latin alone held out the prospect of both fame and gold.” Pardoe further noted that writing in Latin stroked “the vanity of the author;”⁹² since mastery of the classical language displayed personal erudition. Yet the most enduring motive for using Latin, however, concerned its prestige as a language of scholarship, and particularly of linguistic scholarship. Slavic literati in northern Hungary felt most comfortable discussing technical linguistic questions in the medium through which they had first learnt the basic principles of grammar.

The history of Latin as a Panslavic language in northern Hungary thus suggests that Slavic national ideals, as articulated in northern Hungary during the first half of the nineteenth century, appealed mostly to an atypical social elite, more or less estranged from the life of ordinary people. Pan-Slavism, imagined in literary and linguistic terms, only had meaning to highly educated literati. Theodor Locher’s critique of Jan Kollár could be extended to Hungary’s Latin-speaking Pan-Slav intelligentsia as a whole: if the Slavic nation concerns the status of alphabets, the relationship between different dialects, or other purely literary or linguistic questions, then “the ‘nation’ remains [...] a living-room plant; only philologists can be real Slavs.”⁹³ The rise and fall of Slovak Panslavism, then, coincides with an important transition period in the history of Slovak nationalism. Its initial flowering marked the entry of national ideals into Slavic northern Hungary, but the nationalist politics which eventually destroyed the Habsburg monarchy required it to give way to more particularistic forms of Slovak nationalism.

91 F. Beudant, *Travels in Hungary, in 1818, translated from the French* (London 1823), 21.

92 J. Pardoe, *The City of the Magyar, or, Hungary and her Institutions in 1839–40* (London 1840), 3: 51.

93 Locher, *Die Nationale Differenzierung*, 115.

Latin and Vernacular Relations in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: The Serbian Case

Nenad Ristović

The Setting of Serbian Neo-Latinism

Unlike the peoples that belonged to Western Christianity and had Latin literacy as an essential part of their cultures, the Serbs were attached to Byzantine civilisation and like the other Orthodox Slavs mainly wrote in their own literary language. Following great political changes after the expulsion of the Ottomans from Central Europe in the late seventeenth century, a large share of Serbs came under the rule of the Habsburgs on the territories of the Military Frontier, the Province of Hungary Proper and Croatia (with Slavonia). It was this part of the people that took the leading role in the development of Serbian culture in the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth centuries. New political circumstances brought about new cultural norms and models, including the necessity for Latin literacy. Moreover, learning Latin became a basic element of the new—western and modern—cultural orientation of the Serbian people.¹

This cultural novelty inevitably became a challenge to Serbian identity. Until the eighteenth century, the ethnocultural self-determination of the Serbs was based on their literary language, a redaction of the Old-Slavonic called Serbian-Slavonic, developed during the Middle Ages, written in Cyrillic letters and used alongside the vernacular Serbian language.² The Serbs had a considerable literature created in this language, mostly under the auspices of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the pivot of the Serbian people, especially after the loss of their state in the fifteenth century. This literature promoted the pantheon of

1 N. Ristović, “Acculturation Versus Assimilation: The Role of the Orthodox Church in the Organisation of Western Modern-Age Classical Education among the Serbs in the Habsburg Monarchy,” *Encounters in Europe’s Southeast: The Habsburg Empire and the Orthodox World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (The Eighteenth Century and the Habsburg Monarchy, International Series, vol. 5), ed. by H. Heppner and E. Posch (Bochum 2012), 191–204, 271–272, at 194–196, 203–204.

2 P. Ivić, *Pregled istorije srpskog jezika* [Overview of the history of the Serbian language], ed. by A. Mladenović (Sremski Karlovci and Novi Sad 1998), 28–104.

holy Serbian medieval rulers and ecclesiastics as the chief ethnic symbols and shaped Serbian collective memory. Another problem with Latin was that it was perceived as the language of Roman Catholicism, the opponent of the Orthodox faith of the Serbs.³ The religious element of their identity became increasingly important once the Serbs settled in the Habsburg lands, due to the pressure from the Roman Catholic Church to which they were exposed (especially in Croatia).⁴ The eighteenth century also brought to the Serbs other big fluctuations in the field of identity, caused partly by external factors (starting from the fact that the Habsburg authorities ignored the very name of the Serbian people),⁵ and also internal ones, such as those concerning the literary language which was in the process of the most serious transformation ever.

The majority of the works of eighteenth-century Serbian literature were written in Church-Slavonic, called simply Slavonic, in fact the Russian church language, which the Serbs had adopted from the 1730s as part of the struggle to defend their religious identity against Habsburg Roman Catholicism,⁶ essentially anchoring it in the already established Russian literature. Additionally, this language made them a part of the religious-linguistic community called *Slavia orthodoxa*.⁷ This was the greatest challenge to Serbian language identity

3 Ristović, "Acculturation Versus Assimilation," 196.

4 S. Gavrilović, *O Srbima Habzburške monarhije* [On the Serbs of the Habsburg Monarchy], ed. and introd. by V. Krestić (Belgrade 2010), 150–195.

5 The official documents of the Habsburg Monarchy in the 18th century replaced the medieval names for the Serbs, 'Serviani' or 'Rasciani' (cf. Hungarian 'rákok' and German 'Raitzen'), used earlier, with the term 'natio Illyrica.' The ideology of Illyrism, which originated during the Catholic restoration, was used in the course of three hundred years in different modifications depending on the political interests and circumstances, chiefly among the Croats. See: Z. Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illyrism] (Zagreb 2008), passim. The Habsburgs accepted this construct because it suited their political ambitions in the Balkans as well as their Uniate religious policy toward the Orthodox. It affected the thinking and writing of some Serbs in the monarchy. Cf. J. V. A. Fine, Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Ann Arbor, M. I. 2006), 541–546. The proper name of the Serbs entered into use from the time of Joseph II and it became the only legally recognized name from the first half of the 19th century. More on this: V. Simić, *Za ljubav otadžbine: patriote i patriotizmi u srpskoj kulturi XVIII veka u Habzburškoj monarhiji* [For the love of the fatherland: Patriots and patriotisms in the 18th-century Serbian culture in the Habsburg Monarchy] (Novi Sad 2012), 411–414.

6 Ivić, *Pregled istorije srpskog jezika*, 115–125.

7 On the meaning of the terms *Slavia Latina* and *Slavia Orthodoxa* and on the origin of this distinction, see: N. H. Trunte, *Slavia Latina. Eine Einführung in die Geschichte der slavischen Sprachen und Kulturen Ostmitteleuropas* (Slavistische Beiträge 482, Studienhilfen 17) (Munich and Berlin 2012), xi–xvi.

ever, much greater than the necessity of using Latin or the inevitable polyglossia of the monarchy; the struggle to preserve the faith inadvertently led the Serbs to self-Russification.⁸ (Paradoxically, that was prevented thanks to the suspicion of the Habsburg authorities towards Russian influence on their subjects.) The transition to Church-Slavonic was never completed and an alternative emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century, the so-called Slavonic-Serbian language, a mixture of Church-Slavonic and the vernacular Serbian language,⁹ which was introduced into Serbian schools in the late eighteenth century. As the use of the earlier Serbian language variants was not discontinued, there were several languages which claimed the place of the Serbian literary language, so that even without the interference of Latin and other foreign languages, Serbian literature of the time became multilingual. In such a confusing linguistic situation, the faith, being an unquestionable constant, became an even stronger support in the Serbs' relations to the state and the other communities in it. This gradually began to change (but was never completely abandoned) with the advent of Enlightenment ideas of some Serbian writers in the 1780s¹⁰ supported by the *Toleranzpatent* of Joseph II, and especially from the 1830s onwards, with Serbian Romanticists who insisted that the character of the people was not based on faith but on the vernacular language.¹¹

The Serbs joined the Latin language community—possibly the last among the European peoples—at a time when many intellectual and cultural changes had impact on the status of Latin.¹² However, the accession of Serbs to European Latinity took place in a region where Latin had remained in intensive use longer than anywhere else. In the Hungarian part of the Habsburg Monarchy (*Regnum Hungariae*), in which the majority of the Serbs lived, Latin was used

8 Cf. V. Vukašinović, *Srpska barokna teologija: biblijsko i svetotajinsko bogoslovje u Karlovačkoj mitropoliji XVIII veka* [Serbian baroque theology: Biblical and sacramental theology in the Metropolitane of Karlovci in the 18th century] (Trebinje 2010), 311.

9 Ivić, *Pregled istorije srpskog jezika*, 129–135.

10 See the best example of this new point of view in the manifesto of the Serbian Enlightenment by Dositej Obradović, *A Letter to Haralampije*, in *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradović, who, as a Monk, Was Given the Name Dositej, Written and Published by Himself*, trans. and ed. by G. Rapall Noyes (Berkeley 1953), 134–135. There is also a German translation in D. Grbić, *Vorentscheidungen: Halle–Leipzig, Wendepunkt im Leben von Dositej Obradović*, trans. by A. Richter (Halle and Belgrade 2012), 67.

11 Cf. Gavrilović, *O Srbima Habzburške monarhije*, 230.

12 On the decline of Latin, see F. Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, trans. by J. Howe (London 2001), 9–11; 99; 273; N. Ostler, *Ad Infinitum: A Biography of Latin* (London 2007), 292 ff.

in education until 1844 and in the parliament (diet) until 1848.¹³ This practice would have seemed unusual in other European countries where Latin already had been abandoned either completely or partially by public administration, judiciary and educational institutions, but in the ethno-political conglomerate of the Habsburg Monarchy, it was conditioned by an understandable political pragmatism. As an international language, Latin was equally convenient for both the central authorities, in order to maintain state cohesion and social conciliation, and the ethnic minorities, in order to avoid the ruling (German) and majority (Hungarian) cultural pressures.¹⁴ At that time nothing had changed in comparison to the situation of the previous century as recounted by Jan Amos Komenský. Describing the Hungarian town of Sárospatak, he noticed that its inhabitants spoke at least five languages, but without Latin they would understand one another as well as the legendary builders of the tower of Babel.¹⁵

Even later Latin remained a convenient linguistic medium that prevented the jeopardy of the strenuously established and maintained order in the monarchy's complex ethnic and political configuration, which can well be seen in the Serbian case. The privileges given to the Serbian people by the Habsburgs from 1690 onwards (counting on that compact loyal population for suppressing separatist aspirations of Hungarians) were the basis of their special status as *corpus separatum* in the ethnic-linguistic, religious-cultural and even quasi-political terms within the Kingdom of Hungary.¹⁶ They were also a source of tension between Vienna and the Hungarian and Croatian estates of the realm, discontented with the treatment of the Serbs as a separate political entity, as well as the Serbian leadership, which demanded the implementation of the

13 J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, pt. 1, *History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature* (Louvain 1990), 217; Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*, 96; N. Ristović, "Srpska književnost na latinskom jeziku" [Serbian literature in Latin], *XVIII stoleće* 6 (2007), 44–66, at 47; R. J. W. Evans, "The Politics of Language and the Languages of Politics: Latin and Vernaculars in Eighteenth-Century Hungary," in *Cultures of Power in Europe during the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Scott and B. Simms (Cambridge 2010), 200–224, at 202–204.

14 IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 1: 94–95; P. Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge 2004), 45.

15 *Ibid.*, 119.

16 P. Rokai, Z. Đere, T. Pal and A. Kasaš, *Istorija Madara* [History of the Hungarians] (Belgrade 2002), 367, 378–379, 417–419; R. J. W. Evans, *Austria, Hungary, and the Habsburgs: Central Europe c. 1683–1867* (Oxford 2006), 8, 139; Gavrilović, *O Srbima Habzburške monarhije*, 208–209, 211–212.

privileges usually overlooked by their granter.¹⁷ In situations which required compromise, the common European language was used. Thus the confirmation decrees from the ruler to the newly elected heads of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Monarchy—who was at the same time *caput nationis*, the leading representative of the Serbian people—were written in Latin even in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ This was obviously done in order not to offend any of the involved parties. Had they been written in Hungarian, the official language in the Hungarian state entity, they would have been offensive to the Serbs who demanded autonomy; had the documents been written in Serbian, they would have been offensive to the Hungarians who wanted uniformity in their historical and political territory; had they been written in German, the mother tongue of the ruler, it would have been offensive to both the former and the latter. Thus Latin was the best solution in this delicate political issue.

Latin-Serbian Interaction in Education and Literature

The need to know Latin led to the establishment of Serbian classical (i.e. humanities-type) grammar schools in which Latin was the main subject. These schools, which began to emerge in the late 1720s, resembled Jesuit colleges, but were actually copies of the Orthodox version of the colleges which had been established in Ukraine a century earlier. In fact, the way in which the Orthodox Ukrainians managed to fit into the educational system of the Polish state while resisting its Roman Catholic propaganda was to the Serbs a model of how to keep their identity while participating in the cultural life of the country in which they lived.¹⁹ The most prominent of these schools opened in 1727

17 In Vienna's interpretation of the privileges, the Serbs were the property of the Habsburgs (*Patrimonium Domus Austriae*), while for the Hungarian and Croatian estates of the realm, they were foreigners without any right to the status of a 'political nation.' Thus the Serbs relied on the dynasty as the guarantor of the privileges that protected their identity. Consequently, Serbian 'historicism' in the monarchy was based on the imperial privileges, while their nationalism was to a large degree coloured by Orthodoxy. However, the privileges were gradually *de facto* repealed and from a full religious and ethnic autonomy, with a promise of a separate territory (shortly and partly obtained from 1849–1860 in the form of the Voivodeship of Serbia and Banat of Temesvár), they were reduced to an incomplete religious autonomy and a more and more limited educational autonomy. See Gavrilović, *O Srbima Habzburške monarhije*, 119, 133, 205–206, 219–221.

18 Ristović, "Srpska književnost na latinskom jeziku," 48.

19 *Ibid.*, 49; Ristović, "Acculturation Versus Assimilation," 195.

in (Sremski) Karlovci (Karlóca/Karlowitz), the seat of the Orthodox Church in the monarchy, and in 1731 in Novi Sad (Újvidék/Neusatz), a free royal city from 1748, the only one in the Kingdom of Hungary with a Serbian majority.²⁰ All these schools were founded by the Serbian Orthodox Church and their principle purpose was the wider education of future clerics. Nevertheless in practice the pupils came from different backgrounds and were prepared for various careers, because in these schools the Serbian children were not exposed to the proselytism present in most of the schools of the monarchy.²¹

Although the Serbian grammar schools were of Orthodox character, they had a strong Latinist character in the field of humanities. In Jesuit and Ukrainian colleges, all teaching was in Latin and the use of the vernacular was strictly forbidden and punished (except when used in order to additionally practice style by skilfully translating into the mother tongue).²² The same applied to the Serbian grammar schools (therefore called Serbian-Latin schools), even the small local ones—as can be seen in the instructions given by Archbishop-Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanović in 1733.²³ It was only at the end of the eighteenth century that requirements were added to the curriculum of Serbian grammar schools to practice speaking and writing on the same topics concomitantly in Latin, in the mother tongue (*lingua patria*) and in German.²⁴ However, even in earlier times it was impossible to implement the puristic approach fully and consistently. Specific religious circumstances had an impact on the partial change in the domination of Latin in Serbian grammar schools in the eighteenth century. The Church-Slavonic language was considered *lingua sacra* and as such was equal to Latin; moreover, it replaced classical Greek in the curriculum of Serbian grammar schools. So, like in Ukraine, the examples in textbooks and exercises in rhetorics classes were also in Church-Slavonic

20 Gavrilović, *O Srbima Habzburške monarhije*, 143–144. For more on these schools: Ristović, “Acculturation Versus Assimilation,” 199–203.

21 *Ibid.*, 192.

22 Cf. *Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu* (1586/1591/1599), in *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, ed. by L. Lukács (Rome 1986), 296, 418.

23 R. Čurić, “Srpske škole u Habsburškoj monarhiji do polovine XVIII veka” [Serbian schools in the Habsburg Monarchy until the mid-18th century], *Istorija škola i obrazovanja kod Srba*, ed. by E. Hasanović (Belgrade 1974), 113–114.

24 M. Jovanović, “Nastava klasičnih jezika u Karlovačkoj gimnaziji—planovi i programi, 1791–1914” [Teaching classical languages in the Karlovci grammar school—syllabi and curricula, 1791–1914], *Zbornik Matice srpske za klasične studije* 1 (1998), 97–106, at 100.

and not only in Latin.²⁵ These were, as a rule, examples of church oratory that were, like the liturgy of the Orthodox Slavs, in Church-Slavonic.

In all the other spheres Latin had no competition. It became the signature language of the emerging Serbian educational and intellectual elite whose communication manners, as well as mental and cultural horizons, were similar to those of their colleagues from the surrounding ethnic, religious and language communities. (Serbian men of letters mostly belonged to the same classes of middle and lower nobility as those Hungarians who primarily used Latin.)²⁶ In these circles, where there was an increasing number of those who had graduated and even obtained their doctoral thesis at prestigious European universities, Latin was used for teaching, examining and punishing (of mistakes), as well as for learned discussion and everyday conversation. It was noted that Latin was also used when it was necessary to say something discretely in the presence of people who did not know Latin.²⁷ There is also a known case of keeping a private diary in Latin (Atanasije Dimitrijević Sekereš, c. 1738–1794).²⁸ The immediate surroundings of the Habsburg Monarchy required that the Serbs learn other languages as well—German²⁹ and later Hungarian.³⁰ However, it is clear from various historical sources that Latin was undoubtedly the number one

25 N. Ristović, *Priručnik iz retorike Jovana Rajića* [The rhetorics textbook by Jovan Rajić] (Belgrade 2013), 46.

26 Cf. B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York 2006), 82, fn. 35; 85, fn. 4.

27 N. Grujić, *Avtobiografija* [Autobiography], ed. by I. Zeremski (Sremski Karlovci 1907), 45.

28 Cf. M. Kostić, “Dositejev prijatelj i savetnik Sekereš” [Sekereš, Dositej’s friend and adviser], *Glas SANU* (Belgrade) 256, 12 (1963), 25–53, at 32.

29 German was the administrative language in the Military Frontier and the Banat of Temesvár (until its integration into the Kingdom of Hungary in 1779), where most the Serbs lived. The archival materials also indicate that due to the already mentioned loyalty towards the dynasty, the Serbs used German and not Latin in their communication with the Viennese authorities, in contrast to communication with Hungarian officials.

30 Hungarian was perceived differently from German because its intensive usage was tied to the efforts of the Hungarian nobility to implement centralisation, which would lead, through the language unification, to the creation of the one Hungarian ‘political nation.’ Consequently, there was a considerable resistance to the introduction of Hungarian in schools and administration from the 1830s onwards, though not *a priori* as among the Croats. Cf. Z. Sikirić Assouline, *U odbranu hrvatskih municipalnih prava i latinskoga jezika* [In defence of the Croatian municipal rights and the Latin language] (Zagreb 2006), 12–25. For practical purposes, the Serbs included Hungarian (as was the case with Latin) among the school subjects, and went on to use it in the communication with officials, but they opposed its introduction in their Church and its use as the main language of instruction in their schools. See: Gavrilović, *O Srbima Habzburške monarhije*, 314–334.

language throughout the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. Even the Church-Slavonic language lessons were occasionally held in Latin.³¹ At the very end of the eighteenth century (1798), one of the most learned Serbs of the time, Archbishop-Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović (1757–1836), member of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, advised his nephew to practise first of all Latin, then German and then Church-Slavonic.³² He himself wrote in all three languages and used Latin not only in his official correspondence but also to write scholarly books for a broader competent audience, including foreigners. This ruling principle of literary communication persisted, as did the hierarchical relation between the three languages. An interesting example of the trilingual mix, in which Latin holds the first place, is the poetry collection *Maecenati Serbico*, dedicated to Stratimirović, written in the three languages by Gavriilo (Georgije) Hranislav (1775–1843) in the period 1806–1815.³³ The poems in honour of Stratimirović's name day, organised by year, are mostly in Church-Slavonic, but whenever there is a poem in Latin it is placed first in the series.

From the very beginning, Serbian classical schools were a kind of private school; the first Serbian grammar school with a curriculum in accordance with the contemporary education regulations in Hungary (Maria Theresa's *Ratio educationis* from 1777) was opened in only 1791—it was the re-established grammar school in Karlovci.³⁴ The private status of these schools allowed them to employ teachers of Latin from Russia and to use their textbooks for Latin at first. (The relatively easy acceptance of Latin by the Serbs was achieved not only due to the Ukrainian positive experience but also due to the growing usage of Latin in Russia itself after its Europeanisation by Peter the Great.)³⁵ As Vienna started limiting the use of the Russian textbooks, pupils were forced to copy them, which slowed down the learning process and caused

31 V. Ćorović, *Lukijan Mušicki. Studija iz srpske književnosti* [Lukijan Mušicki. A study from Serbian literature], ed. by M. D. Stefanović (Novi Sad 1999), 151–152.

32 Č. Denić, "Klasični latinski pesnici u predavanjima Jakova Gerčića [Classical Latin poets in the lectures of Jakov Gerčić]," *Zbornik Matice srpske za klasične studije* 1 (1998), 59–72, at 69.

33 On this poetic collection: M. Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti klasicizma i predromantizma: klasicizam* [History of the Serbian literature of the Classicism and the Pre-Romanticism: Classicism] (Belgrade 1979), 256–257; N. Ristović, "Serborum Horatius Maior. Jedna prenebregnuta literarno-biografska identifikacija" [An overlooked literary-biographical identification], *Sobria ebrietas. U spomen na Mirona Flašara, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* 20 (Belgrade 2006), 273–291, at 275–276.

34 Ristović, "Acculturation Versus Assimilation," 202–203.

35 Cf. V. Zhivov, *Yazik i kultura v Rossii XVIII veka* [Language and culture in Russia in the 18th century] (Moscow 1996), 459 ff.; Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*, 22, 28–29.

some errors. The Latin textbooks written by the Protestant authors were preferred in the Serbian grammar schools to those by the Roman Catholic ones (the most widespread among the latter was the *Principia seu rudimenta grammatices* by Manuel Álvares). Shortly after the Serbian classical schools were established, instructors introduced the Latin beginners' textbook *Donatus Latino-Germanicus* by Johann Rennius (an updated textbook of the famous ancient grammarian and rhetorician Aelius Donatus that had been influential for centuries), the lexicon *Primitiva Latina* by the famous Latinist Christoph Cellarius and the examples of conversation in Latin, *Colloquia scholastica*, by Joachim Lange.³⁶ (Latin language textbooks of the same—German Protestant—provenance continued to be used later as well; an example of a more recent one was Christian Gottlieb Bröder's *Praktische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*.)³⁷ Thus, shortly after accepting Latin education, Serbs replaced the Latin textbooks written exclusively in Latin with those supplied with the explanations in a vernacular language.

In the eighteenth century there was a new phenomenon of the nationalisation of Latin textbooks.³⁸ An increasing number of bilingual Latin textbooks as well as bilingual dictionaries of the classical languages introduced the equality of the vernaculars with what was called the 'sacred' language.³⁹ Besides, by the mid-eighteenth century, the translating and publishing efforts of German, French and English scholars offered to the public the works of Greek and Roman classics with the necessary philological and lexicographic appendices.⁴⁰ As a result of these tendencies and the real need for the Serbian textbooks, a famous Serbian eighteenth-century theologian and historian as well as prominent poet and pedagogical writer, Jovan Rajić (1726–1801), created the Serbian version of Cellarius' Latin-German dictionary in the 1760s.⁴¹ A little earlier, influenced by Prussian pietist pedagogues, he had translated classical rhetorical terms into Church-Slavonic in his rhetorics textbook written in Latin and provided some examples in the vernacular Serbian language.⁴² While these

36 D. Ruvarac, "Prva štampana gramatika za Srbe: prilog k istoriji udžbenika za latinski jezik za Srbe" [The first printed grammar book for the Serbs: A contribution to the history of the Latin textbooks for the Serbs], *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 4 (1924), 155–176, at 160; 164; Ristović, "Acculturation Versus Assimilation," 199.

37 Cf. Jovanović, "Nastava klasičnih jezika," 101.

38 Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*, 36.

39 Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 70–71.

40 J. Considine, *Dictionaries in Early Modern Europe: Lexicography and the Making of Heritage* (Cambridge 2008), 288–313.

41 Ruvarac, "Prva štampana gramatika za Srbe," 166–168.

42 Ristović, *Priručnik iz retorike Jovana Rajića*, 46, 71–74.

works remained in manuscript only, around the same time an anonymous author published *Latinski bukvar* (A Latin primer, 1766) and *Latinska gramatika* (A Latin grammar, 1767), with a dictionary and examples of conversations, modelled on the widespread books by Rennius, Cellarius and Lange.

Translating was an important phenomenon in neo-Latin literature and in the Latin-vernacular interplay of the modern era.⁴³ This applied to Serbian too, where the literary expression was both in Latin and in the author's native language, in the form of a translation from one language to the other, in both directions. At first, the more significant works in the vernacular were translated into Latin, either by the author himself or by someone else, in order to confirm their value with the wider readership. This practice was far more widespread than one would expect,⁴⁴ and was especially important for smaller languages, such as Serbian. Thus, Sava Popović Tekelija (Száva Thököly, 1761–1842)—who was, among other things, the first Hungarian citizen with the degree of *doctor iuris* outside the circles of the university professors⁴⁵ and the only Serb collector of Latin incunabula—published, for propaganda reasons, the Latin translation of his speech (given in Slavonic) to the deputies of the Congress of the Serbian Church and People in Temesvár in 1790.⁴⁶ An elegy by the poet and pedagogical writer Avram Mrazović (1756–1826), written in Slavonic on the occasion of the death of Alexandra Pavlovna (1801), a Russian princess married to a Hungarian palatine, was translated by the author into Latin because of the

43 Cf. R. Mardešić, “Novovjekovna latinska književnost [Modern-Age Latin literature],” in vol. 2 of *Povijest svjetske književnosti*, ed. by V. Vratović (Zagreb 1977), 405–480, at 412–413.

44 Waquet, *Latin or the Empire of a Sign*, 85–88.

45 D. Nikolić, “Tekelija’s Contribution to the Development of Science and Education,” in Sava Tekelija, *Dissertatio iuridica de causa, et fine civitatis*, trans. by V. M. Todorović (Novi Sad 2009), 163–173, at 167.

46 *Sermo quem Sabbas Tököly deputatus ad nationalem Illyricum Congressum in sessione, Temesvarini Die 9-na Septembris 1790. celebrata, idiomate nationale fecit, in linguam Latinam traductus* (Pest 1791). This Congress, one of the political turning points in the history of the Serbs in the monarchy, was supposed to resolve the legal status of the Serbs in the Kingdom of Hungary. Unlike the majority of deputies, who requested the separate territory for the Serbs, Tekelija, for legal reasons, as well as because he was a nobleman, argued “Extra Hungariam non est vita” and advocated for ‘inarticulatio’ of the Serbian privileges into the Hungarian legislations. This brochure thus received the high praise of the Hungarians. See: S. Gavrilović, “Sava Tekelija (1761–1842). Povodom 150-te godišnjice smrti” [On the 150th anniversary of his death], *Temišvarski zbornik* 1 (1994), 5–15, at 6–8. On the literary value of this speech: Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti klasicizma*, 459–464.

great interest of the Hungarian readers.⁴⁷ Latin even served as an intermediary for the translation of a piece of literature from one language to another, as was the case with poems by the most prominent Serbian classicist poet Lukijan Mušicki (1777–1837), who offered the Latin prose version of his poetry to the interested foreign translators.⁴⁸

More often, works originally written in Latin were translated into Serbian, so as to make them more accessible to Serbian readers. As the position of Latin became less and less prominent, this became a more common practice. An outstanding orator and Latinist Georgije Popović (1770–1833), known for challenging his Roman Catholic colleagues in the knowledge of Latin, gave a speech in Latin on the occasion of the victory over Napoleon in 1815 but published it partly in Latin and partly in Slavonic.⁴⁹ Two speeches given in the Hungarian diet in 1843 by Archbishop-Metropolitan (later Patriarch) Josif Rajačić (1785–1861) were printed bilingually—the original Latin text and the Serbian translation.⁵⁰ One of the earliest works of Serbian poetry in Latin, *Epitaphium Georgii II Brankovics Despotis . . .*, written by Jovan Rajić in 1764,⁵¹ was published after Rajić's death in the supplemented edition of his *Istorija raznih slavenskih narodov . . .* (History of various Slavonic peoples . . .) in 1828 in the Slavonic translation.⁵²

The more time that passed between the death of a writer of an unpublished work in Latin and its posthumous publication, the more likely it was to be translated. Besides, the audience for which the work was intended might change and then the language would become inadequate. This was the case with Stefan Stratimirović's treatise on the position of the Cyrillic script in the Habsburg Monarchy, *Brevis narratio litterarum Cyrillicarum . . .* At the time it was composed (in the late eighteenth century), it was written in Latin for apologetic reasons with a non-Serbian audience in mind. However, it was

47 M. Dušanić, "Elegija Avrama Mrazovića na smrt Aleksandre Pavlovne" [Avram Mrazović's elegy on the death of Alexandra Pavlovna], *Istraživanja* 13 (1990), 81–88.

48 Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti klasicizma*, 531, n. 333.

49 P. J. Šafarik, *Istorija srpske književnosti* [The history of Serbian literature], trans. by M. D. Stefanović and M. Mrazović (Belgrade and Novi Sad 2004), 325.

50 S. Novaković, *Srpska bibliografija za noviju književnost 1741–1861* [Serbian bibliography for the newer literature] (Belgrade 1869), 250, no. 1271.

51 MS of the Library of the Serbian Patriarchate, Belgrade, RJR no. 4, fol. 50.

52 *Istorija raznih slavenskih narodov* [. . .] *proizvedena* Joanom Rajičem [The history of various Slavonic peoples written by Jovan Rajić], 4 vols. (Buda 1823 [1st ed., 1794]), 4: 361–362 (appendix III). (Neither version of this epitaph is included in Rajić's edition of this work.)

published posthumously in Serbian translation in 1847,⁵³ at the time of the Romanticist national fervour in the monarchy, as a testimony to a successfully overcome threat to national identity, which could serve as an example to the Serbian people.

A characteristic and significant example of the translation practice is an idyll by Vasilije Maksimović (1810–1868), on the occasion of the inauguration of the new bishop in Novi Sad, published in 1834—in the same book there are (Slavonic-)Serbian, Latin and Hungarian versions of the poem.⁵⁴ It shows how much the linguistic circumstances changed in the less than three decades following Hranislav's trilingual poetry collection: Serbian had ousted Latin from the first place in the hierarchy of languages in the literary expression of the Serbs, while German was superseded by Hungarian.

Attitudes towards Latin of the Enlightenment Writers

In addition to dealing with the language complexity of the monarchy, Serbs had to deal with the complexity of their own language situation, which was in a way parallel to that of Latin. Just as Latin was widely used and understood, had the best norms and was richer than the other languages that the Serbs in the monarchy had at their disposal for communication,⁵⁵ so the Church-Slavonic, the literary language of the Serbian literature of the time, had a similar reputation and function. On the other hand, as a foreign and artificial language imposed by the Church, it came under the criticism of Serbian secular writers who worked on the introduction of the Slavonic-Serbian language, used in Serbian bourgeois circles, into the Serbian literature. The noticeable appearance of laymen in literature and their emergence as the intellectual community strikingly changed the socio-cultural profile of the Serbian people in the monarchy, at the time when all over Europe Latin was gradually being replaced by French (pretending to be the new universal cultural mediator)⁵⁶ or the vernaculars.⁵⁷

53 Đ. Slijepčević, *Stevan Stratimirović mitropolit Karlovački kao poglavar crkve, prosvetni i nacionalno-politički radnik* [Stevan Stratimirović, Metropolitan of Karlovci, as the head of the Church, pedagogical and national-political worker] (Belgrade 1936), 169.

54 Č. Popov et al., eds., *Srpski biografski rečnik* [Serbian biographical dictionary], 5 vols. (Novi Sad 2004–2011), 5: 770.

55 Cf. Burke, *Languages and Communities*, 18.

56 Cf. L.-Ž. Kalve, *Rat među jezicima: jezičke politike* [The war between languages: language policies], trans. by M. Džunjić-Drinjaković (Belgrade 1995), 78–82.

57 Simić, *Za ljubav otadžbine*, 345.

The simultaneous transformation of the Serbian language and the replacement of Latin by vernaculars had an important impact on the discussion among the Serbs about the artificial character of the Church-Slavonic language because the opponents of Church-Slavonic could base their criticism on the arguments used in Europe against Latin and in favour of the vernaculars.

The first of those critics was Zaharija Stefanović Orfelin⁵⁸ (1726–1785), a versatile personality and very engaged Serbian scholar, poet and artist—a prolific writer of theological, historical, popular-scientific and pedagogical works, the best Serbian lyricist of the time, calligrapher and engraver, member of the Academy in Vienna. Although he was the anonymous author of the aforementioned two Latin textbooks, and it is known that towards the end of his life he also wanted to compile a Latin-Serbian dictionary, he did not write in the Latin language.⁵⁹ What is more, Orfelin's work clearly shows the change in the status of the Latin language in the eighteenth century, mostly due to his involvement in the Enlightenment activities in the field of the vernacular language. In his greatest work, *Istorija o životiji... Petra Pervago* (The history of the life... of Peter I, 1772), Orfelin connected the idea of the religious enlightenment to the language question. He criticised the great seventeenth-century Ukrainian culture reformer Peter Mohila, whose educational achievements were well known to the Habsburg Serbs, because even though Mohila had freed the Orthodox population from Polish influence, he had preserved Latin as the language of instruction. According to Orfelin, this was a result of the fear of Enlightenment which would weaken the power of the clergy.⁶⁰ This was a typical simplification of the Enlightenment propaganda against the elitist attitude towards knowledge as something that belongs only to the privileged class of clergymen who know the learned language but who are also defenders of intolerance, exclusiveness and superstition.⁶¹ This interpretation did not take into account the positive, acculturative aspect of spreading Latin literacy in the given historical context.⁶² Although Orfelin was the first Serbian anti-clericalist, he still had confessional preconceptions. In *Knjiga protiv papstva rimskago* (The book

58 Ruvarac, "Prva štampana gramatika za Srbe," passim; T. Ostojić, "Zaharija Orfelin, život i rad mu" [Zaharija Orfelin, his life and work], *Srpska kraljevska akademija, Posebna izdanja* 46 (Belgrade 1923), 113–118.

59 J. Ijsević gave misleading information about Orfelin mentioning him as a Croatian writer of a biography of Peter the Great, in Latin, printed in 1726 (see Ijsević, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 1: 95). Orfelin's book was written in Russian with a hint of Church-Slavonic.

60 Zaharija Orfelin, *Petar Veliki* [Peter the Great], 2 vols., trans. by Z. Božović and D. Bogdanović (Belgrade 1970), 1: 65, n. 24.

61 Cf. Grbić, *Vorentscheidungen*, 172, 180, 225–226.

62 Ristović, "Acculturation versus Assimilation," passim.

against the Roman papacy, MS, n.d.), a critical-polemical work against Roman Catholicism typical in Serbian literature of the time, Orfelin noted that many Roman Catholic priests did not know Latin and yet celebrated mass in this language. He wondered what the benefits of a prayer were, if it could not be understood by either the priest or the believers. He completely disregarded the actual problem for the Serbs of having Church-Slavonic as the liturgical language, and emphasised the Orthodox use of the vernacular in the liturgy.⁶³

Orfelin's preference for vernaculars over Latin can be seen most explicitly in *Slaveno-serbski magazin* (Slavonic-Serbian Magazine), which he started in 1768 and published a single issue using the Slavonic-Serbian language in a publication for the first time. The editorial explaining that the reason to start such a publication was to offer to the broadest public the achievements and tendencies of modern European education, literature and science, was Orfelin's eulogy to the century in which he lived. According to him, it was the happiest of all ages because the notables ensured that education reached every individual and used all means to accomplish this goal, abandoning Latin as the language of education and science and using the vernacular which could be understood even by those who were not educated. Orfelin saw the use of Latin as a sign of elitism in the literature of the previous periods and believed that the emancipation of vernaculars for the purposes of literature was the best way to popularise science and disseminate knowledge. He informed the Serbian readers that Latin was maintained only in Hungary and Poland, while elsewhere books for the wider public were written in the vernacular of the people.⁶⁴ However, at the end of the magazine, in the section containing information on new books in Serbian, two of the five listed books were dedicated to Latin—the aforementioned Latin primer and Latin grammar.⁶⁵ His ethnic-educational orientation is visible here too, because he noted that a downside of the second of these books was that it did not contain a register of the words in the (Slavonic-)Serbian language.

Orfelin showed no admiration for classical antiquity and observed Latin only within the practical framework of the school system and language circumstances of the Habsburg Monarchy, this being the reason for the position he took in the Latin vs. vernacular dilemma. Somewhat different was the attitude of the greatest Serbian exponent of the ideas of education and

63 Ostojić, *Zaharija Orfelin*, 110.

64 *Slaveno-serbski magazin, to jest: Sobranije raznih sočinjenij i prevodov, k polzje i uveseljeniju služušćih* [Slavonic-Serbian magazine, i.e. collection of various works and translations for the benefit and entertainment of users], Tom pervij, čest 1 (Venice 1768), 4–5.

65 *Slaveno-serbski magazin*, 80–81.

Enlightenment, Dositej Obradović (c. 1740–1811). Not only was he a fervent follower of the ideas of Enlightenment but also of classical humanism. Like no one before him and very few after, Obradović called on classical antiquity and popularised the classical heritage. His literary world and literary framework were mostly classical, especially in *Basne* (The fables, 1788) and *Sobranije* (Miscelanea, 1793), which were pinnacles of Serbian classical education; he founded and defended his didactic-moralist attitudes primarily quoting classical authors.⁶⁶ Learning Latin was a major turning point in his tempestuous intellectual evolution from a religious zealot to a critic of religious conservatism, leader of the Serbian middle class and the first Education Minister in the re-established Serbian state. This was described in his autobiography *Život i priključenija* (Life and adventures, part 1, 1783; part 2, 1789), which was a history of his self-enlightenment. As a fanatical young monk, he had read only religious books (in Slavonic), but at one point he realized that in order to understand them, he needed a secular education, including knowledge of Latin. His wish to learn Latin coincided with the cooling of his religious fanaticism; as his brethren had shown no understanding for his intellectual needs, he left Hopovo Monastery. The colourful autobiographical story of one of the greatest Serbian eighteenth-century writers and intellectuals shows that the peculiar status of Latin had a modernising role in Serbian eighteenth-century culture:

At once my conceited notion that I knew something vanished away. The Latin language was the real thing, and I, poor fool, did not know a word of it! “Quis, quid, quomodo, ubi, ubivis, ubicunque” sounded more sweetly in my ears than the song of the Sirens—and to think that I knew nothing about all that. It would have been better had I never been born! The lives of the saints and the fathers and the monks lost all honor in my eyes. Henceforward, farewell Hopovo and all thy beauty; where there is no teaching of even the Latin language, there is no life!⁶⁷

In his autobiography, Obradović left testimonies about the importance of the knowledge of Latin in certain situations during his travels through Europe. During a trip from Constantinople to Wallachia, he helped out a Polish prelate who did not understand the languages spoken by the crew and passengers on

66 Cf. N. Ristović, “Mesto Dositejevog dela u recepciji antičkog nasleđa u srpskoj književnosti XVIII stoleća” [The place of Dositej’s work in the reception of the classical heritage in 18th-century Serbian literature], in *Delo Dositeja Obradovića 1807–2007*, ed. by D. Ivanić and V. Jelić (Belgrade 2008), 155–169.

67 *The Life and Adventures of Dimitrije Obradović*, 205.

the ship, but the problem was overcome because they could communicate in Latin.⁶⁸ Similarly, Obradović used Latin at the beginning of his stay in London, before he learnt some English, because his hosts and friends were, like himself, connoisseurs of Latin and admirers of classical antiquity.⁶⁹ These biographical moments, as well as the fact that his extensive travels and numerous acquaintances made him a cosmopolitan (a fact that did not diminish his patriotism), explain why his attitude towards Latin in his works about the problem of the literary language of the Serbs differed from Orfelin's. In the manifesto of his language enlightenment programme, *Pismo Haralampiju* (A letter to Haralampije, 1783), Obradović defended the Slavonic-Serbian language, which was closer than Church-Slavonic to vernacular Serbian, and compared the Serbian language situation to that of Romance-language speakers opting for their vernaculars instead of Latin.

The French and the Italians had no fears that the Latin language would perish if they began to write their own languages, and indeed it has not perished. Nor will our old language perish, because the learned men of our nation will always know it, and with the aid of the old language the new language will day by day be improved.⁷⁰

Thus, further use of Latin was not a problem for Obradović, because he saw Latin as the undisputed language of men of letters and the paradigm for all new literary languages. Latin, like the vernacular languages, remained a means to create a community, yet what kept the members of that community together were not ethnic and religious components but their education. Obradović persisted in the concept of this imaginary community which included selected individuals and which was *res publica litterarum*—a community of ideas.⁷¹

Romanticism's Challenge and the Flourishing Ending

From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, Latin no longer played the same role that it had before, due to circumstances that existed both in the Serbian lands and elsewhere. Obradović's closest pupil Pavle Solarić (1779–1821), a poet, linguist, geographer and historian, had a much more radical approach

68 Ibid., 278–281.

69 Ibid., 290–291, 295, 298.

70 Ibid., 134. There is also a German translation in: Grbić, *Vorentscheidungen*, 66.

71 Cf. Burke, *Languages and Communities*, 25–26, 44, 119.

towards the use of Latin. Dismissing the idea that Slavonic should be given preference over the Serbian vernacular, he compared in 1804 this linguistic construct to Latin:

These days, no one is able to write purely in Slavonic, or purely in Latin, and it would not be advisable even to do so, for he who writes for some other times and not his own has barely accomplished more for mankind than he who would want to write civil laws for the Earth on the Moon.⁷²

This was very close to the ideas about vernacular language advocated by the founders of Romanticist linguistic nationalism, J. G. Herder and J. G. Fichte, the former claiming that speaking a non-native language was like living an artificial life, the latter that speaking Latin was the path to national downfall.⁷³

The emergence and spread of Romanticism put an end to the already seriously disturbed position of Latin in the areas where it was still in intensive use. The use of the mother tongue, increasingly encouraged, was seen as a key feature of a nation—a nation, which from the late eighteenth century gradually encompassed both theoretically and practically all social classes, and was perceived as a linguistic community, and so the old diglossia of the educated class, which in addition to the mother tongue as a rule knew Latin, lost its social significance.⁷⁴ Among the Serbs the breakthrough of Romanticist ideas concerning the nation brought a new element into the polemics over language—the vernacular Serbian language in the place of the Slavonic-Serbian, which as the language of the middle class was not understood by the broadest layer of society. Vernacular Serbian had been used previously on occasion (mostly in popular educational and religious texts).⁷⁵ The new approach to the problem of a language question was set by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787–1864), the creator of the present-day Serbian language standard and alphabet. His was a radical demand that an exclusively pure vernacular be used in the Serbian literature.⁷⁶ It was accompanied by his Europe-wide affirmation of

72 P. Solarić, *Ključić u moje Zemljeopisanije črez nekolika pisma mojemu prijatelju L. N.* [The Key to my Geography through several letters to my friend L. N.] (Venice 1804), 10.

73 On Herder's and Fichte's views, see Simić, *Za ljubav otadžbine*, 354–356.

74 Simić, *Za ljubav otadžbine*, 354.

75 Ivić, *Pregled istorije srpskog jezika*, 136–144.

76 Ivić, *Pregled istorije srpskog jezika*, 174–233; J. Fairey, "The Policies of ABCs. 'Language Wars' and Literary Vernacularization Among the Serbs and Romanians of Austria-Hungary, 1780–1870," in *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity*, ed. by F. Somerset and N. Watson (Pennsylvania State University 2003), 181–182.

the Serbian vernacular oral literature. At the time, in the first decades of the nineteenth century, Latin was still the language of education in Hungary, so Karadžić's linguistic and cultural novelty affected teaching in Serbian grammar schools in an interesting way. The comparative study of classical and Serbian epics was introduced, Horace's odes were read and commented upon alongside odes in the style of Horace by the most famous Serbian classicist poet, Lukijan Mušicki. The Serbian language syllabus was related to Latin more than before,⁷⁷ and in the teaching of Latin, Serbian folk poems were translated for practice (in appropriate classical meters).⁷⁸

However, in the nineteenth century, Latin was still very present among the Serbs of the Habsburg Monarchy. It is unusual that the greatest production of Serbian Latin poetry occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century. This did not happen because the eighteenth century was a non-poetic age in neo-Latin literature, as was the case elsewhere in Europe. The poetry that flourished in the Serbian literature in the nineteenth century was school poetry or other occasional poetry, which was nurtured elsewhere in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As European neo-Latinism was delayed in the Serbian areas, the culmination of their neo-Latinist school/occasional poetry could not have occurred before the early nineteenth century—only then had favourable circumstances developed under the influence of the classical schools and the spread of ideas of classical humanism, which happened previously in the eighteenth century. In more advanced European countries, this occurred during the Renaissance. The first generation of Serbian neo-Latin poets was of a better quality than the later one; in terms of genre, Serbian eighteenth-century poetry production was much richer than that of the nineteenth century—it was marked by rhyming baroque verses and rocaille stanzas—moreover, many poetic forms were promoted in Latin: artistic epic (1740), poetic epitaph (1764), poetic epigram (1771), poetic satire (1790), elegy (1790), Horatian ode (1792 at the latest) and idyll (1799).⁷⁹ About a dozen of these poems were written in the eighteenth century, and most of them were never printed. In the century that followed, there was a flood of several dozen such poetic works in Latin by Serbian authors, many of which were printed. These included mostly odes and elegies. Although in terms of quality these works were more simple

77 M. Petrović, "Mesto predgovora: razgovori s Vasom Stajićem" [Instead of a preface: conversations with Vasa Stajić], in Vasa Stajić, *Srpska pravoslavna velika gimnazija u Novom Sadu* (Novi Sad 1949), 5–43, at 38–39.

78 Cf. T. Đorđević, *Naš narodni život* [The life of our people], 4 vols., ed. by N. Ljubinković (Belgrade 1984), 3: 277.

79 Ristović, "Srpska književnost na latinskom jeziku," 64.

versification than poetry in the real sense of the word, their importance lies in the fact that they widened the framework of Serbian literature and brought it closer to the trends of European literary traditions. It is worthwhile to note that most of these poetic forms in Serbian literature appeared first in Latin and then in Serbian.

Isidor Nikolić Srbogradski (1806–1852), a poet, historian and politician, was the most prolific Serbian neo-Latin poet in the Habsburg Monarchy—according to the available information, fourteen of his printed poems have been preserved.⁸⁰ Thanks to Nikolić, who dedicated most of his printed Latin poems to high-ranking foreigners, including the members of the Habsburg dynasty, Serbian literature in Latin was noted in Europe on at least one occasion. With his poem in Latin, it is recorded that Nikolić, as a student in Pressburg (Pozsony/Bratislava), won a contest organised by Oxford University on the occasion of the death of an English minister.⁸¹

The belated blooming of Latin poetry among the Serbs, apart from the aforementioned reasons, was caused also by the fact that there was a strong presence of the literary movement of classicism in Serbian poetry in the first half of the nineteenth century. This movement emerged in Serbian literature rather late, like in other literatures in Central and Eastern Europe, and for quite some time it developed alongside Romanticism, which would supersede it in the end.⁸² Simultaneous influences of classicism's admiration for the classical heritage and Romanticism's enthusiasm for poetry stimulated many Serbian grammar school pupils and students to write verses in a poetic tradition which was closest to them, because they intensively studied it, as well as in the language which was the most suitable for such verses. One of the greatest classicist writers, Jovan Sterija Popović (1806–1856), in his youth was such an outstanding neo-Latin poet, that he received the title *poëtarum patriarcha* for the poems dedicated to his professors at the Lyceum in Késmárk (Kežmarok).⁸³ Nikanor Grujić (1810–1887),⁸⁴ first a classicist and later a romanticist poet and the greatest orator of Serbian classicism, gained a similar reputation in the

80 *Opera scriptorum Latinorum natione Serborum usque ad annum MDCCCXLVIII typis edita*, collected by V. Karanović, ed. by S. Gavrilović (Iugoslaviae scriptores Latini recentiores aetatis, III) (Belgrade 1982), 61–63.

81 Grujić, *Avtobiografija*, 26–27. Cf. N. Maksimović, *Gružani* [Gruža fellowship] (Sombor 2006), 14.

82 Pavić, *Istorija srpske književnosti klasicizma*, 22, 319.

83 I. Pot, "Dve latinske ode Jovana Sterije Popovića" [Two Latin odes by Jovan Sterija Popović], *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* 9–10 (1961–1962), 179–182, at 179.

84 Grujić, *Avtobiografija*, 16–20.

grammar school in Pécs. Vasilije Maksimović, the aforementioned author of a trilingual idyll, was reputed to be the best Latin poet among the medical students at Pest University in the 1830s.⁸⁵ The exceptional skill of some Serbian grammar school students in writing Latin verse is well illustrated by an interesting story, that a certain Ilija Rakić “wrote three hundred distichs during one night, in which he pleaded with his professor not to be angry with him, and which he began with: ‘Si tamen invenies vitium venerande magister, temporis omnino crede fuisse parum!’”⁸⁶ Most of these poets stopped writing in Latin after they left school. Latin was a part of their school life, which shows not only their own ability, but also the full extent to which this tradition was adopted among the Serbs.

Academic oration in Latin belonged to a similar tradition. Already by the mid-eighteenth century, Serbian students who had excelled in oratory skills published their speeches.⁸⁷ This practice intensified in the nineteenth century. A speech given by a student, Stefan Kulundžić, at the promotion of his whole year to the doctors of law in Pest in 1818, was later published.⁸⁸ Nikanor Grujić provides us another interesting testimony about the success of Serbian students in their use of Latin and rhetorical skills; he won the first prize at a *concertatio panegyrica*, although he replaced a colleague at the last moment, and spoke without preparation, a feat that was talked about all over Pécs throughout Grujić’s life.⁸⁹

The appearance of Serbian classicist poetry brought about an interesting literary-linguistic discussion which unexpectedly reflected on the attitude towards writing in Latin. The Serbs did not have the dilemma which existed among the European neo-Latinists—whether to write only in Latin or also in the national language. However, when Lukijan Mušicki abandoned the contemporary practice of rhyiming Sapphic and rocaille stanzas by writing the first Serbian odes in 1808–1809 in the metrics of Horace’s lyric, his poetic rival, Gavriilo Hranislav, envious of this unprecedented accomplishment, reacted in an unexpected way.⁹⁰ In one of his Latin poems dedicated to Archbishop-Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović, he said that poetry in Serbian (Slavonic) could not compete with poetry in Latin:

85 Maksimović, *Gružani*, 14.

86 “If, respected teacher, you do find an error, believe that there was too little time.” Grujić, *Autobiografija*, 26.

87 Ristović, “Srpska književnost na latinskom jeziku,” 54.

88 Cf. *Opera scriptorum Latinorum natione Serborum*, 51.

89 Grujić, *Autobiografija*, 17–20.

90 Ristović, “Serborum Horatius Maior,” 285–286.

Dauniam quisquis cuperet Camoenam,
 Serbe, solenni Stephani reverso,
 Rectius nostra coleret perennem
 Gentis amorem.⁹¹

Mušicki responded in the same way. In an ode written in 1811, he pointed out to his friend Mihailo Vitković (Mihály Vitkovics), a Serb who was a poet writing in Hungarian, the necessity of mother tongue patriotism. He relied on Horace's story about a dream in which he was dissuaded from writing in Greek by Quirinus himself, who told him "in silvam non ligna feras," as well as on Herder's standpoint that the true art of poetry, such as that of Homer, Pindar and Archilochus, is only possible in the native language.⁹² Though Mušicki was a devotee of classical literature, especially of Horace's lyrics, and as a poet was crowned with the title *Serborum Horatius*, he could not resist the intellectual influences of Romanticism in his Serbian poetry, and this while continuing to use Latin in his correspondence.⁹³ Hranislav's standpoint was not accepted; on the contrary, Mušicki became an idol of the Serbian audience and poets of the younger generation thanks to his innovation—the adaptation of the ancient quantitative metric to the system of accents of the Serbian language—which brought Serbian literature closer to leading European literatures and classical literature. Hranislav's exclusive Latinist attitude remained a single and isolated case, a personal conflict more than anything else. It could not have been any different in the circumstances where conservative points of view were no longer met with a wide acceptance, even in the communities with a richer Latinist tradition. However, the other side continued to defend its position. Two decades after Hranislav's advice to write in Latin, Mušicki found it necessary to respond to the poetic success of a Latinist Isidor Nikolić with a contrary bit of advice, an ode calling on the young poet to sail down the river of Serbian poetry instead of the Tiber.⁹⁴ As mentioned above, alongside Serbian classicism, poetry in Latin flourished among the Serbs, which was understandable given that both literary tendencies were based on the domination of the cult of classical antiquity.

91 "He who wished to respond to Stefan ceremoniously/ by Daunian (i.e. Latin) Muse, oh, Serb,/ he would much more rightfully than by our (Muse) express admiration for him,/ the everlasting love of the people." *Serbico Maecenati VI. Cal. Jan. MDCCCX Ode, cecinit Gabriel Chranislav Poes., Eloq. et Hist. Univ. Professor*, MS of the Library of the Serbian Patriarchate, Belgrade, no. 91, fol. 14.

92 L. Mušicki, *Stihotvorenija* [Poetical works], 4 vols., ed. by G. Mušicki (Pest, Buda and Novi Sad 1838–1847), 1: 18–22. Cf. *Hor. Sat.* 1, 10, 31–35.

93 Cf. Mušicki, *Stihotvorenija*, 1: 88–91, 93–105, 96–97, 124–126, 147–149; 4: 27.

94 *Ibid.*, 3: 11–14.

Concluding Remarks

As can be seen from all the particulars mentioned, the dilemma of Latin vs. the vernacular was never a real dilemma among the Serbs, because Latin was a foreign and belatedly introduced element in Serbian culture. When Latin literacy was finally accepted by the Serbs, it brought about all the problems which at that time, in the eighteenth century, burdened European neo-Latinism. Thus the relation between Latin and the vernacular in the Serbian case had more or less the same features as elsewhere in the neo-Latinist community, except that in the Serbian case they were delayed and of lower intensity, in keeping with the special features of Serbian culture of the early modern period.

The struggle for the exclusive use of the Serbian vernacular in Serbian literature ended in the victory of this concept in the second half of the nineteenth century. Serbian Latinists were mostly on the 'wrong side' in this struggle. This meant that their work was ignored or rejected as a minor episode of Serbian cultural history. Although culturally not insignificant, the brief Serbian participation in the course of neo-Latinism neither received a place in the collective memory nor caught the interest of Serbian scholars because modern Serbian national identity is exclusively determined by the paradigms of romantic nationalism and historicism, that is, by the cult of the oral folk literature and the glorification of medieval achievements.⁹⁵ Although Serbian neo-Latinism came out of the setting of the Serbian community in the Habsburg Monarchy and had its peak in the Serbian mainland,⁹⁶ unfortunately it happened at the time of the triumph of the aforementioned perception of the national ethos. And that is what caused the inadequate treatment of this part of Serbian culture even more than the decline of the Latin language.

95 On these stereotypes, which were dominant in the scholarly discourse on the history of the Serbian language and literature up to the 1970s, and whose effects still slow down research into Serbian neo-Latinism, see M. Jovanović, *Jezik i društvena istorija: društvenoistorijski okviri polemike o srpskom književnom jeziku* [Language and social history: The socio-historical framework of the debate on the Serbian literary language] (Belgrade 2002), 115 ff., esp. 158–159.

96 This happened thanks to Franja Elezović (1845–1927), who was first a grammar school professor, and then a university lecturer on Latin in Belgrade. His work (most extensive among the Serbian Latinists) consists of odes dedicated to Serbian rulers and elegies and epigrams addressed to ministers, academics, professors, writers and ladies in former Serbia. He was the only Serbian Latinist who published a collection of his poems (*Carmina, composuit Fr. Elezović gymnasia professor, Belgradi sumptibus auctoris Typis S. Horovicz MDCCCXCVII*) and the only one who translated a work of non-Serbian literature into Latin (*La bellezza dell'universo* by Vincenzo Monti). On him, see Ristović, "Srpska književnost na latinskom jeziku," 45–46.

Romans, Romanians and Latin-Speaking Hungarians: The Latin Language in the Hungarian-Romanian Intellectual Discourse of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century

Levente Nagy

At the end of the eighteenth century, the languages spoken by the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania did not always correspond to their culture. Although the Romanians spoke (neo)Latin, they were culturally very distant from the Latin part of Europe. The Hungarians (who are not a Latin people in terms of culture) used Latin as a matter of course in the fields of public administration, education and high culture. Romantic nationalism knit language and culture into an inseparable unity, its fundamental principle being that (national) science and erudition could only be expressed using one's own language and no other. In the nineteenth century, Romanian intellectuals re-Latinised an essentially non-Latin culture by means of language. Their aspirations briefly coincided with the ideas of the Hungarian middle and low nobility, and of those intellectuals who, deeming Hungarian unsuitable, wished to preserve Latin as the language of public administration. Although the latter were few in number and were not among the most prominent of the Hungarian intellectual elite, they represented an interesting example of Hungarian-Romanian intellectual cooperation, despite the fact that the debate on Roman continuity, especially with the Saxons, had been under way for some time.

Medieval and Early Modern Preliminaries

One of the great paradoxes of Romanian cultural history is the fact that Latin-speaking Romanians could not look back to a Latin Middle Ages. The Byzantine Greek and Old Church Slavonic culture of the Balkan Peninsula had had such a deep influence on Romanian life, that Romanian immigrants to the Kingdom of Hungary (Transylvania in particular, but also Maramureş/Máramaros, the Banat and the Oradea/Várad region) even after the twelfth century remained entirely unaffected by the medieval Latin culture of Hungary. Since Romanians

were excluded entirely from the political life of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, the church remained their only accessible platform of high culture. The monasteries and wooden churches built by the Romanian *kenéz* (the municipality leaders who masterminded immigration) featured inscriptions in Old Slavonic rather than Latin. The royal charters elevating *kenéz* families to the ranks of the nobility featured Slavic annotations written in Cyrillic characters until as late as the fifteenth century.

There are no records available pertaining to the knowledge and usage of Latin among the Romanian *kenéz* nobility, most of whom blended seamlessly into the Hungarian nobility (the Drágffys, Kendeffys, Hunyadis, etc.), as did those Romanian intellectuals who pursued significant careers, such as Nicolaus Olahus (Miklós Oláh), György Bujtul (Gheorghe Buitul), Gábor Ivul (Gabriel Ivul) and Mihai Halicius. Olah wrote exclusively in Latin, not for a Romanian readership but for the Hungarian and European humanists with whom he exchanged an extensive correspondence in Latin. At the same time, he corresponded with his family and stewards almost exclusively in Hungarian.¹ In the seventeenth century, two Romanian Jesuits from Caransebeş (Karánsebes) pursued notable careers. Having studied in Rome and Vienna, Gheorghe Buitul (1589–1635) was head of the Jesuit mission at Caransebeş from 1625 until his death. He also ran a school in the town. Here, however, the languages of tuition were apparently Hungarian and Romanian, and Latin was only taught as a foreign language, if at all.² Buitul's only surviving writings in Latin are his letters and the reports that he wrote to the Propaganda Fide (the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith). Gabriel Ivul (1619/1620–1678), also from Caransebeş, studied in Nagyszombat (Trnava) and Vienna and was a student of Buitul. He taught in Trnava before becoming a teacher at the Košice (Kassa) academy. His Latin-language textbook on philosophy, *Philosophia novella*, was published in Košice in 1661. Although these writers were fully aware of the Latin origins of their people and their language, they made no attempt to orientate Romanians towards Western European Latin culture, despite the fact

1 Magyar Országos Levéltár (National Archives of Hungary) P 184. Archives of the ducal branch of the Esterházy family; documents of the Oláh family.

2 The best-documented summary of Bujtul's life and missionary activity is A. Molnár, *Lehetetlen küldetés. A jezsuiták Erdélyben és Felső-Magyarországon a 16–17. században* [Mission impossible. The Jesuits in Transylvania and Upper Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries] (Budapest 2008), 147–187 (TDI-Könyvek 8).

that, by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a small Catholic community of Romanian *kenéz* had emerged around Caransebeş and Hátszeg (Haşeg).³

References to Roman origins were slightly more pronounced and confident among those few Romanian Transylvanian intellectuals who were either flirting with Calvinism or had converted to it. Translations of the catechism and biblical quotations were initially based mainly on Hungarian sources, although by the seventeenth century translators had begun to use Latin sources also. There is an extant letter written in Latin by Simion Ştefan (d. 1656), the Romanian vladika of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia),⁴ although otherwise he corresponded with his priests in Romanian.⁵ The princes of Transylvania issued charters to the Romanian vladikas, as well as letters of appointment establishing the rights and obligations of the future Romanian bishop, usually in Latin.

Although Latin education among the Romanians was not widespread, some outstanding Calvinist intellectuals did emerge. These included members of the Halicius (Halici) family from Caransebeş. Mihail Halicius senior (d. 1671), a book collector, translated one of the Psalms of Albert Szenci Molnár into Romanian, and between 1640 and 1660 contributed to the compilation of the first Romanian-Latin dictionary (*Dictionarium Valachico-Latinum*).⁶ He was apparently on good terms with the leading contemporary Transylvanian intellectuals Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld, Johann Heinrich Alsted and Pál Bíró Keresztúri. According to the extant catalogue, the library of his son, Halicius junior, included some real rarities, among others manuscripts by Bisterfeld, Alsted and Piscator.⁷ The younger Mihail Halicius (1643–1712) was born in Caransebeş, and studied at the Sibiu (Nagyszeben) Presbyterian College between 1659 and 1663. According to the diary of Ferenc Pápai Páriz, in 1664 he moved to Aiud (Nagyenyed), where, with the exception of a brief period between 1667 and 1669, he remained until 1674. Halicius remained on good terms with Pápai: on 1 July 1674, on the occasion of Pápai's doctoral gradua-

3 A. A. Rusu, *Ctitori și biserici din Țara Haşegului până la 1700* [Founders and Churches in Haşeg to 1700] (Satu Mare 1997), 14–19.

4 For example his letter dated 14 June 1651, in which he writes about the enthronement as bishop of Partenius Petrovics, the Ruthenian monk who converted to the union. The letter can be found in the Manuscript Archive of ELTE University Library, Hevenesi Collection, vol. 69, fol. 27–28.

5 I. Lupaş, *Documente istorice transilvane* [Transylvanian Historical documents], vol. 1 (Cluj 1940), 243, 246, 296.

6 The dictionary has been preserved in the Pray collection of the University Library of Budapest. For a critical edition, see *Dictionarium Valachico-Latinum. Primul dicţionar al limbii române* [The first dictionary of the Romanian language] ed. by Gh. Chivu (Bucharest 2008).

7 N. Viskolcz, *Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld (1605–1655) bibliográfia. A Bisterfeld-könyvtár* [The Bisterfeld Library] (Budapest–Szeged 2003), 76–77.

tion, he wrote Romanian literature's first—and to my knowledge only—ode in elegiac couplets, which was also published in the volume *Vota solennia* (Basel 1674).

Halicus wrote poetry in both Hungarian and Latin. In 1662, while at college in Nagyszeben (Sibiu), Halicus's homework during the Christmas break was to compose verses on a variety of subjects (his country, the role of the poet, death, etc.): *Materia carminorumum cum elaborationibus vice praxeos poeticam exhibitam, designatam ac elaboratam domesticam in mensam*.⁸ Halicus's *Hungarus* awareness is clearly illustrated by the fact that, in certain verses, he referred to the Kingdom of Hungary as *Dacia regna*. What makes this particularly interesting is the fact that Transylvanian and Hungarian humanists generally identified only Transylvania, not Hungary, with the Dacia of the Roman Empire.⁹ It suggests that Halicus regarded Transylvania as a reduced version of, and the successor to, the pre-1541 Kingdom of Hungary, as did the seventeenth-century chroniclers of Moldavia and Wallachia, who referred to the prince of Transylvania as “king” (*crai*) and the Kingdom of Hungary as “the country.” Miron Costin (1633–1691), for example, translated into Romanian the *Origines et occasus Transylvanorum* (Leiden 1667) by the Transylvanian Saxon historian Laurentius Toppeltinus, also known as Lorenz Töppelt (1640–1670), under the title *De Crăia Ugurească* (On the Kingdom of Hungary). Dacia/Pannonia and Transylvania/Hungary appear as interchangeable concepts elsewhere in Halicus's poetry.

Like his contemporaries, Halicus had no problem reconciling the various elements of his multiple identity. Although he identified himself as a *Hungarus* and as a citizen of the Principality of Transylvania, which he regarded as the successor to the Kingdom of Hungary, he was also proud of being a ‘Vlach’ descendant of the Ancient Romans. Between 1679 and 1684 he enrolled on five occasions at the University of Leiden, each time using the name Michael Halicus Valachus.¹⁰ He signed the Romanian-language ode written to Pápai Páriz as *Michael Halicus nobilis romanus civis de Caransebes*—that is, not just as a Romanian, but as a Roman nobleman. In the poem Halicus claims on

8 The poems and notes of Mihai Halicus have been preserved on the pages attached to Pál Keresztúri's *Csecsemő keresztény* [The Baby Christian] (1638). The book can be found in the Cluj Reformed Theological Faculty Library, RMK, 257.

9 On the various contemporary concepts of Dacia, see: A. Armbruster, “Evoluția sensului denumirii de ‘Dacia.’ Încercare de analiză a raportului între terminologia politico-geografică și realitatea și gândirea politică” [The evolution of the meaning of the name of Dacia. Attempt to analyze the relationship between geographical-political terminology and reality and political thought], *Studii (Revistă de istorie)* 14 (1969), 423–444.

10 K. Károly, *Két irodalom mezsgyéjén* [On the borderlands of two literatures] (Bucharest 1984), 12–25.

two occasions that Romanian equals Roman, and he proudly declares himself to be the first Romanian poet. Having given his poem the title *Carmen primo et unigenitum linguae romano-rumanae* (The first and only-begotten verse in the Roman-Romanian language), he refers to himself in the very first line as the Apollo (poet) of the Romanians.¹¹

Halicius's ode later came to the attention of Hungarian intellectuals: István Veszprémi, a renowned physician from Debrecen, translated it into Latin and sent it to the poet Ferenc Kazinczy.¹² Nevertheless, cooperation between Hungarian and non-Hungarian intellectuals did not always go so smoothly, even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Despite being linked by a common Latin culture, and despite *Hungarus* loyalty and Hungarian patriotism, there were those who were rejected or mocked simply on the basis of origins. The Aiud student register contains the following note after the name of Halicius: *Catilina Colegii pestis exturbatus* ("Catilina, a plague of the Collegium, expelled").¹³ Romanian and Hungarian literary historians have assumed that Halicius was forced to leave the college because of his Romanian nationality. Anton Dörner went as far as to say that, after leaving the college, Halicius was even banished from Transylvania.¹⁴ In reality, however, Halicius was forced to leave the college because he was a follower of a certain János Nadányi, who provoked great scandal among students and fellow teachers alike (and who was also obliged to resign from the college).

Nevertheless, according to some contemporary accounts Halicius did suffer on account of his Romanian roots. Mihály Bethlen (1673–1706), the son of Miklós Bethlen, had the following to say about Mihai Halicius, whom he met in London in 1694:

We drove the Wild Vlach Halicius Karánsebesi to the wall until he compared our words to the Spanish Inquisition. [...] In the afternoon, while we were visiting the City Hall of Londinium, Halicius Karánsebes, *setting aside his wild Vlach nature*, came up to me again and talked to me

11 Ibid.

12 V. Bologa, "Traducerea latină a versurilor lui Halici către Pápai" [Latin translation of the Halici's poems made by Pápai], *Revista Istorică* 13, nos. 1–3 (1927), 22–23.

13 L. Musnai, "Új adatok Halicius Mihály életéhez és hagyatékához" [New information on the life and legacy of Mihály Halicius], *Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Közlemények* 4, nos. 1–2 (1960), 51–67; *Naggyenyedi diákok* [Students of Naggyenyed] 1662–1848, ed. by Zs. Jakó and I. Juhász (Bucharest 1979), 97.

14 A. Dörner, "Un umanist bănăţean din veacul al XVII-lea: Mihai Halicius (1643–1712)" [Mihai Halicius: a humanist of Banat in the 17th centuries], *Mitropolia Banatului* 38 (1988), 85.

in Hungarian. We then went to a coffeehouse and to the Societas Regia Conventum [Royal Society], where we listened to some English discourse and saw the branch of a coffee plant with leaves and fruits as well as other unusual items.¹⁵

One can only hazard a guess as to why Mihály Bethlen chose to refer to Halicius using this particular phrase, which was at the time commonly applied to Romanian serfs, although another comment about Halicius, this time by Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis, might shed further light on the incident. In his work *Mentésége* (His Excuses), Misztótfalusi wrote:

I must confess that, not only do I deem this country unworthy of my professions, but I also made a resolution last year to bid a final farewell to it, as I see it is impossible to subsist here any longer. This was in fact not my only resolution, but I also decided in case I need to go into exile I will spread the repute of Transylvania throughout Europe, and anywhere I go, and I will hammer that false belief into every head such that Transylvania's strongest stone castle would not be sufficient to withstand it; my earlier devotion to my nation will from now on be surpassed by my aversion to it, and I will avoid Hungarians like the plague, as Karánsebesi [Halicius] did, and I will do damage wherever I can rather than good.¹⁶

If Halicius was avoiding Hungarians like the plague, he must have suffered at the hands of his Hungarian contemporaries on account of his Romanian roots. And this is all the more credible as his example was not unique. The fact that the greatly respected Nicolaus Olahus, one of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries in Hungary, was mocked in biting epigrams and letters by his closest humanist colleagues (Farkas Kovacsóczy, Ferenc Forgách and Andreas Dudith), ridiculing his Romanian origins. Gábor Almási rightly emphasises that the frequently discussed *Hungarus* consciousness was not uniformly tolerant to all ethnic groups in Hungary and Transylvania, "It was primarily they [the Saxons and the Southern Slavs, especially the Croats] who were responsible for the construction and dissemination of the *Hungarus* consciousness [Kovacsóczy and Dudith were both of Croatian descent]. Romanians, however, had no right *ab ovo* to the politically loaded *Hungarus* identity (among other things). Their religion was not included among the established religions in Transylvania, and,

15 M. Bethlen, *Útinaplója 1691–1695* [M. B.'s travelogue], ed. by J. Jankovics (Budapest 1981), 87, 191.

16 *Erdélyi féniks* [Transylvanian Phoenix], ed. by Zs. Jakó (Bucharest 1974), 223–224.

due to their lack of political and corporate organisation, they did not belong among the recognised nations of Transylvania.¹⁷

Romanian intellectuals, whether clerical (Olahus, Buitul, Ivul) or secular (Halicius), who wished to join the circle of Latin humanists in Hungary and Transylvania, could expect to be doubly frustrated. On the one hand, they were not of equal rank with their Hungarian counterparts nor with intellectuals of other (mainly Saxon, Slovak or Croatian) ethnicities; on the other hand, they were constantly confronted with the fact that the Romanians, sole successors to the glorious ancient Latinity of Central and Eastern Europe, were poorer than any other nations in terms of Latin erudition. The Latin origins of the Romanians and their marginalised social status in medieval and early modern times was disturbing even in elite humanist circles.

Church Union and the Romanians

A radical change took place at the end of the seventeenth century, when Teophilus, the Greek Orthodox bishop of Alba Iulia, recognised the Roman Catholic Church at the synod in February 1697 and declared reunification with the Catholic Church. In return, those Romanian priests and monks who accepted the union enjoyed the rights and privileges of other recognised (Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran, Unitarian) denominations, and theirs became an established religion (*religio recepta*) rather than merely being tolerated.¹⁸ Church union also meant that the official language of the new Greek Catholic Romanian Church was Latin, although for a long time Latin-speaking priests remained in short supply. Following the death of Bishop Athanasius, when it turned out that there was not a single Latin-speaking Romanian archdeacon

17 G. Almási, "Az Oláh Miklós elleni gyűlöletről. Szélsőséges nemzeti-társadalmi előítéletek humanista körökben" [The hatred against Miklós Oláh. Extreme national-social prejudices in humanist circles], in *Mindennapi választások. Tanulmányok Péter Katalin 70. születésnapjára*, ed. by G. Erdélyi and P. Tusor (Budapest 2007), 614 (available at <http://mek.oszk.hu/09300/09378/09378.pdf>, accessed on 12 May 2014).

18 Strangely, no monographic work is available on the union of the Romanians in Romanian literature. The most recent writings by the best Romanian authors can be found in the following bilingual collection of essays: *Die Union der Rumänen Siebenbürgens mit der Kirche von Rom – Unirea românilor transilvăneni cu Biserica Romei*, ed. by J. Marte et al. (Bucharest 2010). For the best Hungarian summary, see Z. I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus első százada 1697–1792* [The first century of Transylvanian Romanian nationalism] (Budapest 1946). In the current study, I have used the 2005 edition (Máriabesenyő and Gödöllő).

in Transylvania, the Romanian priests unanimously elected as their bishop Ferenc Szunyogh, a Jesuit theologian, who was appointed alongside the Uniate Romanian bishops in 1713. Szunyogh, however, declined.¹⁹

As a result of the union, Hungarian Catholic schools opened their doors at once to Romanians. In 1726, only one Romanian student had graduated from the Catholic grammar school in Kolozsvár (Cluj). In 1794, however, 48 Romanian students graduated, representing 27 per cent of all graduates. In the eighteenth century, every bishop of Transylvania—Ion Pataki (1721–1727); Inochentie Micu-Klein (1729–1751); Petru Pavel Aron (1751–1764); Athanasius Rednic (1764–1772), Grigore Maior (1772–1782); and Ion Bob (1782–1830)—was educated at the Jesuit college in Cluj. Between 1780 and 1800, a total of 76 Greek Catholic Romanians studied at the Catholic seminary in Alba Iulia. The Greek Catholic seminary in Oradea had 247 students in the decade between 1790 and 1800.²⁰

However, in the eighteenth century, Romanian religious and secular intellectuals of Transylvania were mainly shaped by the Blaj/Balázsfalva Greek Catholic schools. A Uniate elementary school was opened in 1738, and a secondary school and seminary were added in 1754. The secondary school had an average of 80 to 90 students, while the seminary accepted 20 to 25 students each year. Classes were taught in Romanian at the Blaj elementary school, and of course in Latin at the secondary school and seminary.²¹ Bishop Aron later introduced the teaching of Hungarian in order to help students prepare for careers in public life. Although Bishop Bob abolished the teaching of Hungarian after 1782, it was reintroduced by his successor, Ion Lemeni (1830–1850). In 1756, Bishop Aron wrote a circular letter in Hungarian calling Romanian Uniate priests to convocation, while his priests and students often wrote to him about official matters in Hungarian. At the Sancta Barbara seminary in Vienna, which was attended by most of the monks who would take office in the Romanian Uniate Church, Grigore Maior proposed saying morning prayers in the students' native languages, and using German for conversation.²²

19 Ibid., 38, 47.

20 For detailed statistics see R. Câmpeanu, *Intellectualitatea română din Transilvania în veacul al XVIII-lea* [Romanian intellectuals in Transylvania in the 18th century] (Cluj-Napoca 1999), 80–88, 111–112, 140–141.

21 Câmpeanu, *Intellectualitate*, 95–102. See also I. Mârză, *Școală și națiune: școlile de la Blaj în epoca renașterii naționale* [School and nation: schools in Blaj in the era of national revival] (Cluj-Napoca 1987).

22 Câmpeanu, *Intellectualitatea*, 224; I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus*, 130, 191, 203.

In 1747, a printing press opened in Blaj alongside the school. The font sets and printing equipment were obtained from Cluj, Alba Iulia, Sebeş and Sibiu. Initially, Aron appointed the Hungarian printers István Páldi and Mihály Becskereki to run the press. The first Latin book appeared in 1757 in Blaj: Bishop Aron's *Doctrina Christiana*, a Uniate catechism for seminary students. Edited by Gheorghe Şincai, the first Latin grammar (*Prima principia latinae grammatices ad usum scholarum valachico-nationalium*) written specifically for Romanian schools was published in 1783. By 1808, a total of 21 Latin-language publications related to Romanian intellectuals had been produced by presses in Transylvania (Blaj, Sibiu, Braşov and Cluj), Buda and Vienna. Only seven of them were ecclesiastical works, and the rest secular: philosophical, historical, medical, linguistic and literary publications (primarily occasional poems). The relative proportions were even more striking between 1809 and 1830, when only three out of 39 Latin-language publications were on ecclesiastical subjects. These represented only 7.5 per cent of Romanian-related publications produced by presses in Transylvania and Hungary (even including the printing press in Vienna).²³ This means that the majority of the books were published in Romanian between 1700 and 1830. This was clearly simply because readers demanded works in Romanian (most of which were sold in the two Romanian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia). From this it can be concluded that, even among the Greek Catholic clergy, only a very narrow circle understood Latin sufficiently well to buy Latin-language books, while Moldavia and Wallachia apparently also lacked a significant Latin-reading public. On the other hand, Latin-language publications written by Romanian authors were primarily produced not for a Romanian readership, but for Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks and Croats, for example. Historical and linguistic works were intended to prove the Latinity of the Romanian people and language, while occasional representative poems were written in honour of those holding important office.

Along with the church and the school, the establishment of Romanian border regiments also contributed to the spread of the Latin language among the Romanians. In the vast majority of cases, Romanians were only allowed to join the border guards if they converted to the Greek Catholic faith. In return, they would be released from their dependence on the landowners, and would later be exempt from taxation. Such measures proved efficient. In the course of 20 years (between 1767 and 1785), the number of Greek Catholic Romanians in Transylvania almost quadrupled, while the number of Eastern Orthodox

23 The statistics are based on *Bibliografia Românească Veche 1508–1830* [The old Romanian Literature's bibliography], vol. 2–3, ed. by I. Bianu et al. (Bucharest 1912–1936).

remained stable. According to the census carried out between 1763 and 1767, there were 131,058 Greek Catholics and 596,272 Eastern Orthodox Romanians. By the 1785 census, however, there were 437,175 Greek Catholic and 598,500 Orthodox Romanians.²⁴ Initially, the border regiments comprised Romanian troops, commanded by Italian and German officers. Aware of the Latin character of the Romanian language, the officers soon attempted to communicate with their men in Latin. And not without success, as proved by the fact that, from the end of the eighteenth century, there are records of Romanian border guards corresponding with one another in Latin. In 1768, Antonio Cosimelli (whose pen name was *Silvius Tannoli*), an officer in the 2nd regiment of Romanian border guards, lamented in a lengthy Latin ode the fact that the glorious Roman colonists had been driven into barbarism by the Scythian and Hun invaders of Dacia. But in the figure of Maria Theresa, the descendants of those colonists (the Transylvanian Romanians) had finally achieved freedom. The Romanians had left their barbarism behind, the ancient Roman virtues had awoken in their hearts, and the bard could now sing of the Romanians' glorious exploits.²⁵ This was already the outline of a serious political programme, in which the political use of the Romanians' Latin origins was subtly combined with anti-Hungarian sentiments, since any educated person would be aware that the Scythians and Huns who had forced the Roman settlers into slavery were the ancestors of the Magyars.

Inochentie Micu-Klein and the Diet of Transylvania

In this context, it was only a matter of time before Greek Catholic clerical intellectuals introduced the Latin origins of the Transylvanian Romanians into their discourse in the interests of political and social ascendancy. The first to do so was Bishop Inochentie Micu-Klein. Klein was born in 1700 and educated

24 A. Miskolczy and Á. E. Varga, *Jozefinizmus Tündérországbán. Erdély történeti demográfijának forrásai a XVIII. század második felében* [Josephinism in Fairyland. The sources of the historical demography of Transylvania in the second half of the 18th century] (Budapest 2013), 170.

25 The Second Romanian Border Regiment was established by Maria Theresa in 1762. A gift from the queen, the telling legend on the flag refers to the ode of Cosimelli: *Virtus romana redíviva*. For Cosimelli's ode see S. Tonelli, *Poemation de ortu et progressu Inclytae Militiae Limitanae Valachicae in Magno Principatu Transylvaniae* (Claudiopoli 1768). Modern edition: I. Chindriş, "Silvius Tannoli și poemul său grăniceresc" [Silvius Tannoli and his poem about the frontier-guards], *Școala Ardeleană* 4 (2010), 183–217. See also Miskolczy and Varga, *Jozefinizmus Tündérországbán*, 25.

at the Jesuit college in Cluj and the University of Nagyszombat (Trnava). He was appointed bishop in 1728. In this capacity, he was the first Romanian to participate in the Transylvanian diets as a regalist (a person specially invited by the king). According to a contemporary Saxon, Klein would submit appeals and speak at the sessions of the diet exclusively in Latin, despite the fact that the Transylvanian diets were largely conducted in Hungarian. In retaliation, the Hungarian and Saxon envoys constantly ridiculed Klein's allegedly poor Latin. This was a significant change: the previous bishop, János Pataki, had corresponded with the Saxon royal judge (*iudex regius*) of Transylvania in Hungarian, rather than Latin or German.²⁶

On the basis of the Second Diploma Leopoldinum (1701), Klein demanded in his petitions to the diet that Uniate Romanian bishops be allowed to collect tithes, that their priests enjoy the same rights as those of the four established denominations, that the Transylvanian Gubernium (the council of the governor-general) include Romanian members, and that Greek Catholic Romanians be eligible for public office. He later also asked that Greek Catholic Romanians be included as the fourth nation (*natio*) among the privileged nations of Transylvania (Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons).²⁷ The sole legal basis for his argument was the Second Diploma Leopoldinum, the authenticity of which was doubted even by contemporaries. Since no original copy could be found either by Klein or by the Transylvanian Chancellery, the rumour spread that it was a Jesuit forgery.²⁸ In the absence of legal arguments, Klein was forced to resort to historical arguments to explain why the Romanians did not belong among the three established nations of Transylvania. He put forward two claims: Firstly, as the descendants of the settlers from the time of the Roman Emperor Trajan, the Romanians are the oldest inhabitants of Transylvania, thus the oldest owners of the land. Secondly, the Romanians form a majority in Transylvania, which also proves that they are the oldest inhabitants of the province. Initially, therefore, they necessarily had rights, which they still had at the present moment, although privileged statuses prevented their enforcement.

26 B. Jancsó, *A román nemzetiségi törekvések története és jelenlegi állapota* [The history and current state of Romanian national aspirations], vol. 1 (Budapest 1896), 678; I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus*, 286.

27 *Ibid.*, 57–108; F. Pall, *Inochentie Micu-Klein. Exilul la Roma (1745–1768)* [Inochentie Micu-Klein. His exile in Rome], vol. 1, ed. by L. Gyémánt (Cluj-Napoca 1997), 3–14; D. Prodan, *Supplex libellus valachorum. Din istoria formării națiunii române* [Supplex Libellus Valachorum: The political struggle of the Romanians in Transylvania during the 18th century] (Bucharest 1998), 180–186.

28 I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus*, 33.

There are no records of him using any of these arguments during the diets. They turn up for the first time in a letter from him to József Hundegger, Sibiu's Jesuit superior (Vienna, 19 March 1735): "For we have been, since the time of Trajan, well before the Saxons entered Transylvania, registered as successors to that royal land, and until now we owned entire estates and villages, albeit in misery and oppressed by the many various burdens imposed upon us. We are therefore also true successors to the royal land or territory, as stated in the Diploma Leopoldinum, and have been accepted as true sons of the fatherland, throughout Transylvania, and equal to the others."²⁹ In a petition addressed to the Empress in 1741, he also referred to the fact that the Romanians had lived in Transylvania since the time of Trajan ("nec fuisse tempus ullum post Trajanum, quo Transylvania nostris incolis caruisset").³⁰ He began his memorandum to Pope Benedict XIV in June 1745 with the same thought: "Quella colonia romana che piantò Trajano nella Dacia, di cui era parte la Transilvania."³¹

It seems from the above that Klein did not bring up the topics of Roman origins and the numerical superiority of the Romanians in Transylvania during the diets, obviously because he realised he could achieve nothing by doing so. Although some (like Daniel István Vargyasi) were alarmed by the exponential growth in the number of Romanians, neither this nor Roman origins in the constitutional sense were of any real interest to the Transylvanian nobility. They refused to support any of Klein's requests, and in fact turned the Viennese court against him to such a degree that Maria Theresa wanted to have the bishop arrested. In 1745, Klein fled to Rome, where he was forced to remain in exile until his death.³²

29 "Nos enim a tempore Trajani adhuc antequam natio Saxonica Transilvaniam intrasset, in terre illa regia haeredem egimus integrasque possessiones et pagos usquedum possidemus, licet millenis miseriis, et variis oneribus utpote a potentioribus oppresi. Proinde nos etiam veri haeredes in terra seu fundo regio sumus, cum per Diploma Leopldinum incorporati in verosque patriae filios ubique in Transilvania aequae ac alii adoptati simus." N. Nilles, *Symbolae ad illustrandum historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris coronae S. Stephani*, vol. 2 ([Oeniponte] 1885), 528.

30 *Supplex Libellus Precum, et Gravaminum Cleri, Populique Romano-Valachiciae Transylvaniam, et Partes eidem Reincorporatas*, pub. and intro. by D. Prodan, *Supplex*, 194–197.

31 Pall, *Inochentie Micu-Klein*, 2/1: 78.

32 On István Dániel, see I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus*, 98. On Klein's exile to Rome, see Pall, *Inochentie Micu-Klein*, 2/1: 74–101. On the myths and misinterpretations of the 18th-century census in Transylvania and the associated massive immigration and emigration of Romanians, see Miskolczi and Varga, *Jozefnizmus*, 136–162.

Politics and Philology: Romanian Language Reform in Transylvania and the Supplex

Between 1780 and 1828, the centre of Romanian linguistics was Transylvania and Hungary. In those 50 years, only a few grammar books were published in the trans-Carpathian principalities, while Transylvania and the Buda University press produced works on grammar every three to four years. The first work on grammar, written in Latin and published in 1780 in Vienna, was the *Elementa linguae daco-romanae sive valachicae* of Samiul Micu-Klein (1745–1806, grandson of Inochentie Micu-Klein) and Şincai Gheorghe (1754–1816). A milestone in cultural history, its publication marked the end of the era of the old Romanian language and literature. The *Elementa* was intended to provide an easy-to-use, uniform set of rules for those wanting to use the Romanian language and Latin script correctly. The authors should have used the contemporary living language as their starting point, but instead they chose to examine the Romanian language from the perspective of a dead language: Latin. Thus rather than providing grammatical instruction, the primary goal was to prove the Latin character of the Romanian language.

At this point, grammar and philology were put to the service of ideology, which would then define discourse on scholarly language in Transylvania and among Romanians in Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century. This may have been because language provided the clearest proof of the Latin origins of the Romanian people. Şincai went as far as to claim that Romanian was a degenerate version of classical Latin. In his view, changes in language were not a sign of development but of corruption, which heralded the nation's decline. The old, uncorrupted Romanian language had therefore to be recovered in order to restore the Romanian nation to its former glory. A Latin script was developed, which deviated from Hungarian spelling but which was made so complicated by its forced etymologies that it would not have been at all appropriate for spreading literacy among the wider population. At the same time, they alienated themselves from Reformation-influenced Romanian culture, written in Latin script and according to Hungarian orthography.³³ The other main component of the re-Latinisation concept was the elimination

33 For example, the Latin *prandium* (lunch) developed via regular phonological changes into the Romanian *prânz* (lunch). This word has a well-established Cyrillic (*ніпз*) and Latin-script form with Hungarian spelling (*prenz*). Latinists, however, created the word *prandiulu*, so as to resemble more closely the Latin *prandium*. Romanians who could not speak Latin were therefore not only unable to spell it correctly, but did not even know what the word meant.

of (mainly Slavic and Hungarian) words of non-Latin origin. Although established Hungarian loan words were not eliminated, Latin words adopted via Hungarian were avoided.³⁴ From a constitutional point of view, Transylvanian and Hungary-based Romanians were at a disadvantage compared to other non-Hungarian minorities (especially Saxons and Croats), in the sense that, being Romanians, they could not be members of the diets. Thus they did not come into contact with Latin, one of the official languages of the Hungarian and Transylvanian administration. However, since the time of Inochentie Micu-Klein, Greek Catholic bishops had regularly been able to take part in the Transylvanian diets. Yet until 1842, Romanians rarely joined in debates about the official language in Hungary and Transylvania. According to the language decree of Joseph II, dated 11 May 1784, the Transylvanian national governmental authorities were obliged to introduce German for the purposes of internal administration and for communications with the Chancellery, as of 1 November 1784. From 1787, the language of Transylvanian diet was to be German, thus in principle, from 1 November 1784, no students were to be admitted to secondary school unless they could read and write in German.³⁵ In Transylvania, the decree was not enforced consistently, if for no other reason because even the Saxon governor Bruckenthal opposed it. Nonetheless, the protests were not as vocal as in Hungary, where the royal counties also opposed the introduction of German. Not only in Croatia but also in Hungary the majority of the counties were in favour of Latin, rather than Hungarian, as official language.³⁶ During the 1790 diet in Buda, the Croats threw all their weight behind Latin, this time not against German but against Hungarian (since, in the meantime, Joseph II had revoked his language decree). The 1790 Latin-language petition *Declaratio ex parte nunciorum regni Croatiae quod inducendam Hungarica linguam*, which was attributed to Nicolaus Skerlec (Nikola Škrlec), lord lieutenant of Zagreb County, stated that Hungarians and Croats were bound by a kind of ‘social contract,’ the *pacta conventa*, which dated back to the days of King Kálmán and according to which the two countries were equal members

34 In *Elementa*, not a single noun ends in *-us*, and no verb is suffixed by *-áldui*, since the majority of Hungarian nouns found their way into Romanian via these endings, e.g. *lăcătuș* – *lakatos* (locksmith), *áldui* – *áldani* (to bless).

35 I. Soós, “II. József nyelvrendelete és a ‘hivatalos’ Magyarország” [The language decree of Joseph II and the “official” Hungary], in *Tanulmányok a magyar nyelv ügyének 18. századi történetéből*, ed. by F. Bíró (Budapest 2005), 261–301.

36 Soós, *ibid.* See also Gy. Szekfű, *Iratok a magyar államnyelv kérdésének történetéhez 1790–1848* [Documents on the history of the status of Hungarian as official language, 1790–1848] (Budapest 1926), 32–33.

of the Holy Crown. Since the official language of this dual country was Latin, it could only be changed by mutual consent, but the Croatian estates opposed the introduction of Hungarian in public offices.³⁷

The diet of Cluj also assembled in 1790–1791, following the revocation of the language decree. The language dispute flared up here too, although not as strongly as in the Hungarian diet. Although the Saxon envoys agreed that the minutes could be taken in Hungarian, they refused to take the oath in Hungarian. They also requested the central authorities to correspond with the Saxons in German or Latin. In the end, the diet voted to make Hungarian the official language of the principality, giving it primacy over the other languages of Transylvania, while Latin was to be retained for court and treasury publications, the governor-general's records, and correspondence with the main military headquarters and with those outside the province.³⁸ The comments of Governor György Bánffy (1746–1822) on the law perfectly illustrate the situation of Latin: According to him, it was more important to retain Hungarian as the official language in Transylvania than in Hungary, since in Transylvania fewer people spoke Latin, thus Latin language decrees could not be properly implemented. At the same time, non-ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania (Saxons, Romanians, Armenians, etc.) spoke better Hungarian than the non-Hungarians living in Hungary.³⁹

The 1790/91 diet in Cluj was also critical for Transylvanian Romanians, as discussions took place regarding the *Supplex Libellus Valchorum*, a petition for their political and constitutional emancipation. Based on the historical documents of Samuil Micu-Klein (1745–1806), the petition was drawn up by Igantie Darabant (1738–1805), Uniate bishop of Oradea, and his followers, along with Iosif Meheși of the Royal Chancellery in Vienna. Meheși submitted the document to the emperor in Vienna, but Leopold II forwarded it to the diet of Transylvania. The most important elements of the petition were a reformulation of the demands of Bishop Inochentie Micu-Klein, referred to above: 1) terms that are offensive to Romanians, such as “*tolerati, admissi inter Status, non recepti*,” should be deleted; 2) Romanians should be reinstated among the “*regnicolar*” nations (Hungarians, Transylvanians, Saxons), a privilege they had enjoyed prior to 1437 but since lost; 3) Romanian Greek Orthodox clergy, the nobility, and urban and rural commoners should enjoy the same rights as nationals of the *Unio Trium nationis* (“Union of the Three Nations”);

37 D. Sokcsevics, *Horvátország a 7. századtól napjainkig* [Croatia from the 7th century to the present day] (Budapest 2011), 249–254.

38 Szekfű, *Iratok*, 247.

39 *Ibid.*, 250.

4) Romanians should be represented proportionately in public and government offices; and 5) counties, districts and municipalities in which Romanians formed the majority should be given Romanian names, and those in which the majority was formed by other nationalities, should be given mixed (Hungarian-Romanian, Saxon-Romanian) names.⁴⁰

This is all that the *Supplex* had to say on the language issue. It contained not a single word about whether Hungarian, Latin, or perhaps even German, should be the official language. And this was in spite of the fact that an intellectual elite that had recently discovered its Latin roots, and that referred to those roots in its political struggles, might well have been expected to enter the language fray and argue passionately for the use of Latin. The proposal in the *Supplex* regarding Romanian place names appears too modern and anachronistic in the contemporary political context. According to Zoltán I. Tóth, “Point 5 [...] is odd, a too early claim for linguistic ethnicity that would seem to reflect the influence of the French Revolution.”⁴¹ Romanian historians in fact ignored the whole question. The precise influence of the French Revolution would be difficult to determine in this case. In my opinion, the composers of the *Supplex* were thinking of a more immediate Croatian model. Deputy Ferenc Bedekovics (Franjo Bedeković), at the Hungarian diet of 1790, followed by the Croatian nobility of Kőrös County during their assembly on 20 July 1790, declared that, if the official language of the country were to be Hungarian, they would introduce Croatian as the official language of Croatia.⁴² It is possible that the Romanian authors of the *Supplex* had the vaguely similar idea, that if the Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons in Transylvania could deal with internal national matters in Hungarian, why should not they do so in Romanian?

Croatian influence on the *Supplex* can also be presumed elsewhere. Alongside numerical superiority and ancient roots, the main argument put forward by the authors of the *Supplex* was the covenant made between the Romanians and the chieftain Töhötöm near Esküllő at the time of the Hungarian conquest. The authors refer to numerical superiority twice, to ancient roots on five occasions, and to the covenant with the Hungarians in four places. Numerical superiority was among the arguments used by the Croatian delegates to protest against the introduction of Hungarian as the official language at the Hungarian diet. According to the petition of Nicolaus Skerlecz, referred to above, Hungarians accounted for only around a quarter of the country’s population alongside

40 Prodan, *Supplex*, 554–555. See also Keith Hitchins, *The Rumanian National Movement in Transylvania, 1780–1849* (Cambridge, Ma. 1969), 120–232.

41 I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus*, 261.

42 Sokcsevics, *Horvátország*, 250–253.

other inhabitants (Slavic, German, Ruthenian, Jazygian, Cumanian, etc.) who had their own territory and spoke their own language.⁴³ In Transylvania, the numerical superiority of the Romanians had already been referred to by Bishop Inochentie Micu-Klein. According to László Gáldi, Micu-Klein's belief in the Roman ancestry of the Romanians originated from Nicolaus Olahus's *Hungaria*.⁴⁴ Even in the absence of concrete philological evidence, the fact remains that references to numerical superiority and Roman origins appeared among Micu-Klein's arguments at the end of the same year that György Pray re-issued Olahus's *Hungaria: 1735*. Olahus's work became a source for Romanian historians of the late eighteenth century (Samuil Micu-Klein, Gheorghe Șincai, Ion Budai-Deleanu). In the second print run of the 1763 edition of *Hungaria*, the editor Adam Kollár inserted a comment that for many years would provide an argument for those using the reference to numerical superiority not only to claim political rights, but also to further their case regarding the official language of the country. Kollár infamously remarked that Hungarian language (just like the language of the Cumanians) would eventually disappear since there were only a few places in Hungary in which the population spoke exclusively in Hungarian. This claim reached a significant audience thanks to August Ludwig Schlözer and Herder. Interestingly, Romanian intellectuals and historians have only used references to numerical superiority in arguments for political rights, not in discussions regarding the country's official language, even though many in Hungary, including József Izdenczy and Alajos Mednyánszky, opposed the introduction of the Hungarian language by referring to the limited numbers of Hungarians.⁴⁵

43 "Nullum ferme Idioma, quod in Regno non vigeat: denique ut numerus verorum Hungarorum, in ipsa Hungaria, vix quartam populi partem efficiat. Accessere complures, quas postea Hungari Imperio suo adjecerunt Provinciae, omnes a diversis ab Hungarico labio populis habitatae, quas Hungari, Romanorum more, in formam Provinciae non redigebant, sed suis Legibus, suis institutis, suo Idiomate uti permissas, Societatis tantum vinculo adstringere solebant." I have quoted the text of the *Declaratio* on the basis of the electronic edition: www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/cgi-bin/getobject.pl?c.360:4.croala, accessed on 22 Sept. 2013. Cf. also Gy. Miskolczy, *A horvát kérdés története és irományai a rendi állam korában* [The history and documents of the Croatian issue in the age of the feudal state], (Budapest 1927), 1: 427–429.

44 L. Gáldi, "L'influence de la civilisation hongroise sur l'activité scientifique des Roumains de Transylvanie," *Revue d'Histoire Comparée* 1 (1943), 78–79.

45 Szekfű, *Iratok*, 41–45; I. Margócsy, "A magyar nyelv státusa a XVIII. század második felében" [The status of the Hungarian language in the second half of the 18th century], in *Folytonosság vagy fordulat?: A felvilágosodás kutatásának időszzerű kérdései*, ed. by A. Debreczeni (Debrecen 1996), 251–259. For the most important works in the

Based on the work of the Hungarian chronicler Anonymus (of turn of the thirteenth century), the *Supplex* claims that in the early tenth century Töhötöm defeated Gelu, leader of the Romanians, who also died on the battlefield in Transylvania. Subsequently, the Transylvanian Romanians did not submit to Hungarian rule as a conquered people, but, as natives of Transylvania, they accepted the Hungarians voluntarily, electing Töhötöm as their new leader. This pact secured “concivility,” with both nations enjoying equal rights in Transylvania. The *pacta conventa* was a source of great joy and satisfaction to both parties.⁴⁶ The interrupted development of the medieval Romanians in

voluminous literature on the [Kollár-Schlözer-]Herder-prophecy, see D. Dümmerth, “Történetkutatás és nyelvkérdés a magyar-Habsburg viszony tükrében. Kollár Ádám működése” [Historiography and the language issue in the context of Hungarian-Habsburg relations], *Filológiai Közlöny* 12 (1966), 391–403; L. N. Szelestei, “18. századi tudós világ III: Kollár Ádám: Tersztyánszky Dániel és a magyarországi tudós társaság ügye” [The scholarly world in the 18th century. III: Ádám Kollár: Dániel Tersztyánszky and the Hungarian Scholarly Society] (1763–1776), *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve* (1981), 415–447; F. Bíró, *A nemzethalál árnya a XVIII. századvég és a XIX. századelő magyar irodalmában* [The shadow of the nation’s death in the literature of the late 18th and early 19th centuries] (Pécs 2012); S. Hites, “‘Herder hamis próféta.’ Kazinczy és a nyelvhalál” [“Herder the false prophet.” Kazinczy and the death of the language], in *Ragyogni és munkálni. Kultúratudományi tanulmányok Kazinczy Ferencről*, ed. by A. Debreczeni and M. Gönczy (Debrecen 2010), 22–31.

- 46 “Post triste hoc principis fatum [Gelu] [...] (quemadmodum Anonymus Belae Regis Notarius in Historia Ducum Hungariae cap. VI. narrat) propria voluntate dexteram dantes dominum sibi elegerunt Tuhutum Hungarorum Ducem, ac fidem jure jurando firmaverunt. [...] Valachos certe multis antequam Hungari venissent saeculis transylvanicas partes coluisse, tam patriae, quam romana historia docent, et dum illi amisso in pugna proprio Duce Gelou Hungaris non amplius restiterunt, sed potius illorum ducem Tuhutum in suum etiam dominum propria sponte dexteram dantes elegerunt, admiserunt hoc facto Hungaros sua sponte ad coincolatum, ad concivilitatem, et ad communionem jurium regnicolarium. Contenti fuerunt Hungari hocce Valachorum libero, et spontaneo agendi modo, atque utraque gens in concivilitate, et communione jurium suam invenit felicitatem [...] Non obscure hinc prodeunt Pacta conventa utriusque nationis Anonymi etiam Belae Regis Notarii verbis: propria voluntate dexteram dantes in suum etiam dominum elegerunt Hungarorum Ducem Tuhutum” (Prodan, *Supplex*, 544, 548). Without a thorough analysis, many have suggested that the Croatian *pacta conventa* and the Romanian’s pact with Töhötöm were interpreted as similar to Rousseau’s ‘social contract’ by contemporaries at the end of the 18th century under the influence of the Enlightenment. However, no specific philological data (at least in the case of the *Supplex*) support this. Further research will have to establish the extent to which, in this case, it is due to the influence of Rousseau or simply the survival of the medieval constitutional theory (D. Kosáry, *Újjáépítés és polgárosodás 1711–1860. Magyarok Európában* [Reconstruction and

Transylvania—the reason why the Romanians, who had originally enjoyed similar privileges to the Szeklers and Saxons, did not become a similarly free and established feudal nation like the others—is explained by the *Supplex* as due to one of the great injustices of the times. “Omnis igitur moderna tristis Valachorum in Transylvania sors *non legibus, sed iniuriae temporum debetur*.”⁴⁷ According to the authors of the *Supplex*, until the compilation of the seventeenth-century Transylvanian laws (*Approbata* and *Compilata constitutiones*, 1653), the national rights of the Romanians had been unrestricted. Even then, those passages clearly stating that the Romanians did not comprise a feudal nation and that their religion was not an established religion were included only through the negligence of the “compiler,” or “by accident” (*concludi ergo debat errare solum vel incuria compilatorum*).⁴⁸ Although the authors of the *Supplex* express regret that the Romanian nation is not a *status* and *natio*, they do not insist on its recognition as a fourth *natio*, since the Romanian nobility have always been part of the three established nations. They were elevated to the nobility, before the arrival of the Hungarians, by the Romanian princes of Transylvania (including Gelu). How else can this be seen, than as an imitation of the Croatian *pacta conventa*? Just as the Croats elected Kálmán as their king, so the Romanians elected Töhötöm as their sovereign. And just as the Croatian nobles thereby retained the rights and nobility conferred on them by the kings of Croatia, so were the Romanians’ rights not subsequently denied, although they became more difficult to exercise. They were not therefore requesting new rights, but merely the restoration of old ones: *per clementiam Majestatis Vestrae sacratissimae rediviva natio valachica ad usum omnium jurium civilium et regnicolarium reponatur*.⁴⁹

Romanian Historical Literature in Latin

Constitutionally, the Romanians gained nothing from the *Supplex*. The Transylvanian nobility were unimpressed by ancestry and numerical superiority, and also by the shaky Töhötöm contract theory. The latter was based on even weaker foundations than the Croatian *pacta conventa*, which at least had the backing of a text, even though it was a fourteenth-century addition to the

civic development, 1711–1860. Hungarians in Europe], ed. by F. Glatz (Budapest 1990), 130; Sokcsevics, *Horvátország*, 252–253; Prodan, *Supplex*, 492).

47 Prodan, *Supplex*, 550 (my emphases: L. N.).

48 *Ibid.*, 548.

49 *Ibid.*, 555.

thirteenth-century chronicle of Archdeacon Thomas of Spalato. The Romanians' pact with Töhötöm, on the other hand, was pure fiction.

The *Supplex* stirred up the greatest storm among the Saxons, since there were greater numbers of Romanians living in the historical Fundus Regius and the Saxon autonomous territories than in the Szekler territories and counties. Braşov-born Joseph Karl Eder (1760–1810) published the *Supplex* during the Transylvanian diet, with the addition of voluminous and biting critical remarks.⁵⁰ Eder refuted not only the shaky constitutional argumentation of the *Supplex*, but also its views on the history of the Romanians in Transylvania. In doing so, he attacked the Romanians where they were most sensitive. He claimed that the Romanians could not be indigenous inhabitants of Transylvania, since the Emperor Aurelian had relocated Roman settlers from Dacia to the Province of Moesia, south of the Danube. The ancestors of the Romanians had migrated from there to Transylvania after the Hungarian and Saxon colonisation.⁵¹

But the idea that the Romanians had migrated from Moesia to Transylvania did not come from Eder. Following casual remarks made by Johann Thunmann (1746–1778) and József Benkő (1740–1814), it was Franz Joseph Sulzer who had first elaborated the idea in greater detail ten years earlier.⁵² The Swiss-born Sulzer was an officer in the Imperial Army who was stationed in Reghin (Szászregen, Sächsisch-Regen), Transylvania, in the 1770s. In 1776, the Wallachian Prince Alexandru Ipsilanti (1774–1782) invited him to found a law academy in Bucharest. He was therefore familiar with the Romanian intellectual and political strata not only of Transylvania, but also of Wallachia.⁵³

Meanwhile, the dispute began to assume the character of a polemic. Each party stubbornly restated its position and tried hard to believe in it, while attempting to launch personal attacks on their opponents. Şincai, for example, in his unpublished response to Eder's criticism (*Responsum ad Josephi Caroli Eder in Supplicem Libellum Valachorum Transylvaniae iuxta numeros ab ipso positos*), claimed that Sulzer was mentally defective, whereas Sulzer had

50 *Supplex Libellus Valachorum Transylvaniae cum notis historico-critici I. C. E. civis transylvani* (Claudiopoli 1791).

51 *Supplex Libellus*, 10–11.

52 F. J. Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist: der Wallachei, Moldau und Bessarabiens*, vol. 2 (Vienna 1781), 4–35. A. Armbruster, *Romanitatea românilor. Istoria unei idei* [The Romanness of the Rumanians. The history of an idea] (Bucharest 1993), 261–264.

53 On Sulzer, most recently see P. Ionescu, "Interferențe culturale în epoca luministă: Franz Joseph Sulzer" [Cultural interferences in the Enlightenment era: Franz Joseph Sulzer], *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica* 6, no. 1 (2002), 113–118.

written against the Romanians out of revenge, having failed to be appointed to any position in Wallachia.⁵⁴ Sulzer was indeed a military-intellectual adventurer. In 1779, he attempted to obtain a post at the University of Buda with the help of György Pray. His failure, Sulzer himself claimed, was due to the fact that his wife was Romanian Orthodox. He later hoped to find employment as a tutor in the home of a Transylvanian nobleman with the assistance of József Benkő. When this attempt also met with failure he was forced to remain in Wallachia until his death in Pitești in 1791.⁵⁵

The Saxons appealed to the Göttingen professor August Ludwig Schlözer, to resolve the issue. In 1791, Schlözer had written a brief note in the journal *Staatsanzeigen*, describing the origins of the Romanians as being south of the Danube. The Saxons could therefore justifiably expect Schlözer to support their views. And indeed, Schlözer collaborated with the Transylvanian Saxons (Johann Filtsch, Samuel von Bruckenthal and Friedrich von Rosenfeld in particular) on his book, surprisingly altering his earlier opinion and declaring the Romanians to be the earliest inhabitants of Transylvania.⁵⁶ Schlözer offended the self-esteem not so much of the Saxons, but rather of the Transylvanian Hungarians, even though his Saxon correspondents cautioned him against doing so.⁵⁷ Schlözer claimed that it was the Pechenegs who were living in Transylvania at the time of the conquest. The Szeklers were their descendants. The Hungarian king Géza II had later invited in the Saxons to take the territory away from the Pechenegs and claim it for the Hungarian Crown. In return, the Saxons were given rights and privileges by the Hungarian kings. The Hungarians, however, only settled in Transylvania after the Szeklers and the Saxons. The Transylvanian Society for the Cultivation of the Hungarian Language also discussed Schlözer's work at several of its sessions, and thanks to the writer György Aranka voluminous documents were produced, although ultimately no refutation was published.⁵⁸ At a later date, Johann Christian

54 Prodan, *Supplex*, 101.

55 Sulzer's letter to József Benkő, Vienna, 8 Nov. 1779, in J. Benkő, *Benkő József levelezése* [The correspondence of J. B.], ed. by A. Tarnai (Budapest 1988), 90–92.

56 On the creation of Schlözer's work (*Kritische Sammlungen zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Göttingen 1795) see, most recently: A. Bíró, *Nemzetek Erdélyben. August Ludwig Schlözer és Aranka György vitája* [Nations in Transylvania. The debate of August Ludwig Schlözer and György Aranka] (Kolozsvár 2011), 159–164; M. Peters, *Altes Reich und Europa. Der Historiker, Statistiker und Publizist August Ludwig (v.) Schlözer (1735–1809)* (Marburg 2005).

57 Bíró, *Nemzetek*, 164.

58 P. Dávid, "Itt van a' legvégső óltára Pallásnak." *Erdélyi tudományos intézmények a XVIII. század végén* ["Here's the final altar to Pallas." Scholarly institutions in Transylvania at the

Engel (1770–1814), who was born in Levoča/Lőcse and who was a clerk in the Transylvanian Chancellery, joined the debate on the side of Eder, arguing against the Romanians' continuity in Transylvania.⁵⁹

Romanian intellectuals, however, had little opportunity to enter the debate. Despite the passion with which it was undertaken, almost all the work done at the end of the eighteenth century remained in manuscript form. Alongside Şincai, Ion Budai-Deleanu (1760–1820) responded in voluminous German notes (*Widerlegung der zu Klausenburg 1791 über die Vorstellung der walachischen Nation herausgekommenen noten*) against Eder's *Supplex* edition, but their publication was prevented by the censor.⁶⁰ At the same time, Budai-Deleanu began writing a Latin historical work on the origins of the Transylvanian nations. In this monumental work (*De originibus populorum Transylvaniae*), which he was writing right up until his death in 1791, Budai dwelled at length on the origins of the Hungarians. He referred to György Pray and János Sajnovics with the utmost respect, and, like them, insisted on the Finno-Ugric origins of the Magyars. Following in their steps, he claimed that Hungarian was related to the Finnish, Latvian and Vogul languages, although he deviated from their theory in claiming that the Hungarians were the descendants of both the Huns and the Scythians, since in fact the Finns and the Voguls were both Scythians. In short, all the Finno-Ugric peoples could be traced back to the Scythians, who had nothing in common with the Turks. According to Budai, certain Hungarian authors had recently invented the idea of Hungarian-Turkish kinship, being ashamed to be related to any peoples (e.g. the Voguls) not remembered for their glorious history. The Byzantine chronicles, on the other hand, were filled with the resounding deeds of the Turks from as early as the sixth century. Nevertheless, according to Budai there was no reason to be ashamed of Finno-Ugric-Vogul kinship, because although there were no chronicles recording the famous deeds of the Finns and Voguls, their ancestors, the Scythians, had established a flourishing culture and had even traded with India. There was nothing to be done about the fact that some of the Scythian-Finns had

end of the 18th century], PhD diss. (Univ. of Szeged 2010), 141–143, available at http://doktoriiskola.biforium.hu/tezisek/david_peter.pdf, accessed 29 June 2013. Cf. also A. Bíró, “Vita vagy önreprezentáció?” [Debate or self-representation?], in *Aranka György gyűjteménye I. Az emberarcú intézmény. Tanulmányok Aranka György köréről*, ed. by E. Egyed (Kolozsvár 2004), 123–146.

59 L. Gyémánt, *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Transilvania între anii 1790–1848*, [National Movement of Romanians in Transylvania between 1790–1848] (Bucharest 1986), 60–61.

60 Modern editions: *Ion Budai-Deleanu în mărturii antologice* [Ion Budai-Deleanu in anthologies], ed. by I. Chindriș and N. Iacob (Cluj-Napoca 2012), 483–501.

migrated from Scythia, and others had been conquered by foreign nations. It was no wonder that the descendants of the Scythians had turned barbaric and showed no trace of their ancestors' prowess in battle. Just as the Greeks of the present could not match the Ancient Greeks in art and science, so the offspring of the Dacian settlers lacked the elegance and culture of the Romans.⁶¹

Taking their lead from the Polish chroniclers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, non-Romanian Transylvanian intellectuals held the view that, while the Romanians were indeed the descendants of the Roman colonists of Dacia, the ancient Roman morals and values had degenerated to such a degree that (language apart) the Romanians could no longer be regarded as Latins.⁶² By the late eighteenth century, many Romanian intellectuals had appropriated the theory of degeneration. Indeed, for some of them the desire to explain the causes of decay verged on obsession.⁶³ For Budai, the degeneration of the Finns by comparison with their Scythian ancestors was a parallel to the history of the Romanians. He empathised with those members of the Hungarian intelligentsia who were ashamed of their "fish-reeking" Finnish kinsfolk, since the majority of Romanian intellectuals felt a similar sense of shame at their decline since the time of the Ancient Romans. By drawing a parallel between Finnish and Romanian history, Budai was implying that his Romanian contemporaries should not be ashamed, since the Romanians were not alone when it came to degeneration. At the same time, he was suggesting to his Hungarian (Saxon/German/Austrian) opponents that they had no right to feel so proud of their glorious origins, since others had experienced the same decline as the Romanians. In short, the Scythians had degenerate descendants, not just the Romans, and since the Hungarians had no need to be ashamed of their poor Finnish relations, so Romanian intellectuals had no reason to be embarrassed about being degenerate Romans.

However, the work of the Lemberg-based Budai had little impact, since it remained in manuscript form.⁶⁴ The same fate befell the work of the great late

61 I. Budai-Deleanu, *De originibus populorum Transylvaniae. Despre originile popoarelor din Transilvania* [About the origins of the peoples of Transylvania], ed. by L. Gyémánt (Bucharest 1991), I: 232–234.

62 A. Armbruster, *Romanitatea românilor*, 134–136, 153–155. Cf. G. Almási, "Az Oláh Miklós elleni gyűlöletről," 610–614.

63 D. Prodan, *Supplex*, 550; *Ion Budai-Deleanu în mărturiile antologice*, 488.

64 In 1787, after completing his studies in Vienna, Budai left for Lemberg, where he stayed until his death (1820). First he worked as a court clerk, then as an assessor. He married a Polish woman of Armenian origin. He refused to return either to Transylvania or to Moldavia (although a teaching position at the Iași school was offered to him by the Metropolitan Bishop of Moldavia). The reasons for this are uncertain. I assume that

eighteenth-century Romanian historian, Samuil Micu-Klein. He began writing his *Brevis historica notitia originis et progressu nationis Daco-Romanæ seu ut quidem barbaro vocabulo appellant Valachorum ab initio usque ad seculum XVIII* (1778) in Latin, but later translated it into Romanian and developed it into four volumes. The complete Latin version has never been published. In order to prove the Latin origins of the Romanians, Samuil Micu-Klein began with the fall of Troy. However, as a genuine *Hungarus* intellectual, he believed that all Romanians, as subjects of the Hungarian Crown, owed allegiance to Austria, and that all Romanians should accept the union.⁶⁵

In addition to his *Responsum*, Gheorghe Şincai likewise began writing a monumental historical work in Latin and Romanian. Although the work was completed by February 1812, he only submitted it to the censor in June 1813.⁶⁶ The censor, Transylvanian bishop Joseph Mártonffi, did not endorse its publication. The manuscript ended up in the library of the Catholic lyceum in Cluj, from where the Romanian version somehow became public, and in 1844 excerpts appeared in print in Buda, followed by the complete work between 1853 and 1855 in Iaşi.⁶⁷ The Latin version has never been found.

In terms of printed materials, Romanian intellectuals were able to join the debate on the Latin origins of the Romanians and their continuity in Transylvania only in the first decade of the nineteenth century. By that time, the debate was no longer political/constitutional, but intellectual.

Budai was unwilling to return to the Romanian regions because he had enjoyed his time in Lemberg (Lviv), where he could devote himself entirely to his work and, unlike his Romanian contemporaries who remained in Transylvania and Hungary, did not have to sacrifice his creative energies at the barricades of ideological and political struggles. For further details, see: A. Miskolczy, *On the Path to Romanticism: the Gypsies of the Enlightenment. The Ţiganiada (Gypsyada) or the Reflection of the Gypsy Image and Self Image in Hungarian and Romanian Literature* (Budapest 2012), 9–10.

- 65 “Quid si Marmatiam [...] quid si districtum Bihariensem, Sarmariensem, Hevesiensem, Aradiensem, Bannatum, Moldaviae, Valachiae et Bulgariae partes ad Coronam Hungariae de jure spectantes, quae atiam cum bono Deo huic imperio Austriae Doms et Deum incessanter oramus, circumspererimus? Tantam profecto in his Transilvaniam circumjacentibus provinciis gentis Valahicae reperiemus multitudinem, quae caeteros ritus graeci populos ad Domum Austriacam pertinetes copia et numero longe amplius superat” (quoted by I. Tóth, *Az erdélyi román nacionalizmus*, 365).
- 66 Gheorghe Şincai’s letter to the University Press, Nagyvárad, 24 Feb. 1812, in *A budai Egyetemi Nyomda román kiadványainak dokumentumai, 1780–1848* [Documents on the publications of the Buda University Press], ed. by E. Veress and S. Domokos (Budapest 1982), 211–212.
- 67 E. Jakab, “Adalék Sinkai Gergely György életiratóhoz” [Contribution to the biography of György Gergely Sinkai], *Századok* 15 (1881), 688.

Participants were not struggling to regain the lost rights of the Romanians, but to improve the negative image of the Transylvanian Romanians. The greatest storm was stirred up by Martin von Schwartzner's *Statistik des Königreichs Ungarn* (3 vols., Buda 1798–1811), of which Toma Costin published a refutation in both Hungarian and Latin: *Észrevételek tekintetes Schwartzner Márton úr Magyarország statisztikájában az oláhokról tett jegyzésekre* (Reflections on the remarks concerning the Wallachians in the statistics of Hungary by the honourable Mr Márton Schwartzner) (Pest 1812), and *Discussio Descriptio valachorum Transylvanorum* (Pest 1812). Costin was a student of law at the University of Pest. The publication of the Latin version was supported financially with 385 forints given by Samuil Vulcan (1759–1839), Greek Catholic bishop of Oradea. *Posonineses Ephemerides*, a Latin-language statistical-political journal published in Pressburg, featured an appreciative review of Costin's *Reflections* in its 1812/23 issue. The journal would have been willing to publish Costin's full text for 100 forints, but he was unable to afford this amount.⁶⁸

It was undoubtedly Petru Maior who made the greatest impact of all historians in the first half of the nineteenth century, although he wrote his principal work, *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia* (The history of Romanians in Dacia) (Buda 1812, second edition 1834), in Romanian rather than Latin. It had a huge impact throughout the Romanian-language area. Maior was also angered by Schwartzner's book and wrote this work to defend the Romanians' honour. His ultimate motive was not to recover lost rights, but rather to demonstrate that the Transylvanian Romanians were not inferior to other nations but were as valuable members of the country as the Hungarians or the Saxons. It was no accident that Maior aimed his work at a Romanian audience. In the foreword, he claimed to have written the book in order to help the Transylvanian Romanians to become loyal subjects of the country, and of the emperor in particular, but also to encourage them to obey their local rulers.⁶⁹

The attack came neither from Hungary, nor from the Saxons, but directly from Vienna. Slovenian-born Bartholomäus (Jernej) Kopitar (1780–1844), the Viennese Censor for Slavic and Greek and a pioneer of Austroslavism, criticised Maior's work. Using linguistic arguments, Kopitar attempted to prove that the Romanian language could not be a direct continuation of Dacian Latin. He referred to various characteristics that are not found in other Romance languages, such as the enclitic definite article. Since Albanian and Bulgarian

68 I. Chindriș, *Cultură și societate în contextul Școlii Ardelene* [Culture and society in the context of the Transylvanian School], (Cluj-Napoca 2001), 213–224.

69 P. Maior, *Istoria pentru începutul românilor în Dacia* [History of the Romanians in Dacia] (Buda 1812), 3.

contain a similar definite article, Kopitar argued that the Romanian language had emerged from the mixing of the native peoples (Dacians, Thracians) with the Roman settlers and the Slavs. Since much of the old Romanian literature had been written in the Slavic language, and since Romanian texts used Cyrillic script, in Kopitar's view neither words of Slavic origin nor the Cyrillic alphabet should be banished from Romanian culture.⁷⁰

Maior responded promptly, although Kopitar's German text first had to be translated for him by Moise Nicoara (1784–1861). His response was written originally in Romanian, then translated into Latin: *Animadversiones in recensionem historiae: De origine Valachorum in Dacia* (Buda 1814).⁷¹ Maior's main strength was in polemics, not linguistics (or at least not to Kopitar's level). He argued that the differences between Romanian and other Romance languages could be explained by the fact that Romanian had developed not from classical Latin but from the vernacular variety that already contained such changes. As for the Cyrillic script, he referred to an old but unsubstantiated legend, recorded by Moldavian historian Dimitrie Cantemir (1673–1723). In his *Descriptio Moldaviae*, Cantemir described how the Romanians had used the Latin alphabet until 1437, when the Moldavian voivode, fearing that his subjects would revert to Catholicism following the Synod of Florence, had all Latin-scripted documents burned and made the use of the Cyrillic alphabet compulsory. Kopitar responded in a letter to Maior, who published a new brochure in Latin in reply. Kopitar sent another critical response, after which Maior published another pamphlet in Latin. When Kopitar failed to respond, the debate came to an end.⁷²

Hungarian-Romanian Cooperation on the Eve of Revolution

Perhaps slightly surprisingly, for 50 years (1780 to 1830) Hungarian intellectuals did not join in the debate on the ancestry and rights of the Transylvanian Romanians. Only one Hungarian author, Márton Bolla (1751–1831), a Piarist teacher from Cluj, wrote a rebuttal of the *Supplex—Dissertatio de valachis*

70 B. Kopitar, "Walachische Literatur," *Wiener allgemeine Literaturzeitung* 1 (1813), 1551. New edition: B. Kopitar, *Kleinere Schriften. Sprachwissenschaftlichen, geschichtlichen, ethnographischen und rechtshistorischen Inhalts*, ed. by F. Miklosich (Vienna 1857), 230.

71 V. Mangra, "Moise Nicoară," *Tribuna* 12, no. 1 (14 Jan. 1908), 4.

72 P. Maior, *Reflexiones in responsum domini recensentis Viennensis* (Pest 1815); id., *Reflexiones in responsum recensentis Vienensis in recensionem Historiae Valachorum in Dacia* (Buda 1816).

qui Transylvania incolunt (1791)—but it remained in manuscript form.⁷³ Bolla stated that Romanians were of Hun-Bulgarian, rather than Latin, origin. Although Bolla incorporated this theory into his textbook (*Primae lineae historiae universalis in usum studiosae juventutis Claudiopolitanae*, Vols. 1–3, Claudiopoli, 1798–1799), it gained little popularity since his Hungarian contemporaries largely accepted the Romanians' continuity in Transylvania. It was a view shared among others by the Debrecen college professor Dániel Ercsei, as well as the era's most famous historian, Mihály Horváth, a professor at the University of Pest.⁷⁴ There were even those who agreed with the arguments of the *Supplex*, and who accepted that the Transylvanian Romanians had been given rights and nobility by their own princes before the arrival of the Hungarians, and these were preserved under the contract made with Töhötöm.

They included György Aranka, who cautioned Bolla against questioning the Latin origin of the Romanians and their rights to nobility. Aranka only denied the aristocratic rights of later Romanian immigrants from beyond the Carpathian Mountains, not those of the native Transylvanian Romanians.⁷⁵ László Perecsényi Nagy (1771–1827), a civil servant in Bihar, then in Arad County, also wrote about the Romanians in exactly the same spirit as the *Supplex*: “This nation, our fellow human beings, deserves to be recognised not only because their number exceeds a million in the two countries, but also as our fellow citizens since our settlement in this land, who have ever shared our liberties, wars and struggles, and fulfilled their duty at all times.”⁷⁶ Perecsényi was a great sup-

73 Modern edition: M. Bolla, *Az oláhok eredetük szerint hun-bolgárok* [The Vlachs are Hun-Bulgarians by origin], ed. by F. Zajti (Budapest 1931), 102.

74 D. Ercsi, *Statistica* (Debrecen 1814), 114; M. Horváth, *Historia Ungariae politica* (Vienna 1786), 1: 59–60; D. Ercsi, *Statistica regni Hungariae* (Bratislava 1802), 53, 73–75. See also the posthumously published work by András Huszti, *Ó és Új Dácia* [The old and the new Dacia] (Vienna 1791), 15–16, 135–137.

75 Gy. Aranka, *Az erdélyi oláhokról* [On the Vlachs of Transylvania], 1796, in Cluj State Archives, Col. Aranka, Nr. 88. Fol. 8^r–9^v. The notes on Romanian subjects preserved in the Aranka collection show that Aranka wanted to write a separate book about Romanians. The chapters were based on the following: *Az Oláh családról* [On the family of Archbishop Nicolaus Olahus], *A Hunyadi családról* [On the Hunyadi family] (published in 1811), *Az erdélyi kenézségekről* [On the Transylvanian municipalities], *Az erdélyi oláhokról* [The Vlachs of Transylvania].

76 Perecsényi's letter to György Fejér, Borosjenő, 12 Apr. 1818, in Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Manuscript Archive [hereafter OSZK], Quart. Hung. 13, 116^r. Perecsényi's essays, which the author forwarded to the *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* [Scientific Collection], were published by A. Miskolczy, “Perecsényi Nagy László cikkei a románokról” [László Perecsényi Nagy's articles on the Romanians], *Annales, Europa-Balcanica-Danubiana-Carpathica, The Annual of the Romanian Department of the Eötvös Lorán University's*

porter of the Latin language. On 7 April 1818, he wrote to György Fejér, “Last year I told Mr Trattner [the Pest typographer János Tamás Trattner] that domestic masterpieces written in Latin, as well as some occasional masterpieces written in one of the constitutional languages—along with their translations—should not be excluded.”⁷⁷

It would appear that the Hungarian gentry and the minor nobility, who had a Latin education, saw in the Latinist movement of the Romanian intellectuals a reflection of their own feudal concept. Romanian intellectuals may have sympathised “with our Hungarians who were willing to fight blindly for anything old fashioned,” and who, “finding their mother tongue unsuitable for public matters, will yearn for Latin, which, although they speak it poorly, contains technical terms that they use like parrots.”⁷⁸

In Transylvania, the Hungarian language issue resurfaced during the diet of 1841–1843. The Romanians were mostly affected by Paragraphs 7 and 8 of the bill, according to which both Uniate and non-Uniate Romanian churches were required to use Hungarian in external correspondence and for internal affairs within ten years. In addition, Romanian priests had to learn Hungarian, and, after ten years, Hungarian had to be introduced as the language of tuition

Faculty of Humanities 3 (1998), 299–329. On Percsényi, see also A. S. Tóth, *A deákos nemesi életforma és a neolatin verskultusz Percsényi Nagy László Orodias című kötetének kortársaihoz szóló versei* [The Latin lifestyle of the nobility and the neolatin cult of verse. László Percsényi Nagy’s poems to his contemporaries in his volume *Orodias*] (Baja 2007).

- 77 Percsényi’s letter to György Fejér, Borosjenő, 12 Apr. 1818, in OSZKK, Quart. Hung. 13, 118^v. Percsényi spoke mainly in favour of the nobility who wrote poems in Latin, although the most important literary works had already been written in Hungarian at the time. On the neolatin poetry of the era, see L. Szörényi, *Memoria Hungarorum. Tanulmányok a régi magyar irodalomról* [Studies on the old Hungarian literature] (Budapest 1996), 174–199.
- 78 Sándor Kisfaludy’s letter to József Nagy, 17 Sept. 1806. Quoted by E. Csetri, *Egység vagy különbözőség. Nyelv és irodalomszemlélet a magyar irodalmi nyelvújítás korszakában* [Unity or dissimilarity. Attitudes to language and literature in the era of Hungarian language reform] (Budapest 1990), 37–38. Gheorghe Şincai, the representative historian of the Transylvanian School, was helped by József Benkő, Dániel Cornides, Márton György Kovachich, István Katona, Mihály Tertina and the Counts Wass in his work. In 1805, Şincai wrote a bucolic poem in Romanian on the occasion of the name day of Palatine Joseph (1776–1847), in which he praised Ferenc Széchenyi as the founder of the National Museum. I. Kultsár et al., *Onomasticon serenissimi hereditari principis regii archi-ducis Austriae et Regni Hungariae palatini Iosephi* (Buda 1805), 47–57. The connection between Gheorghe Şincai and the literary circle of Oradea is of particular interest, and is best illustrated by the *Orodias* poetic anthology of 1804, edited by László Percsényi Nagy. Members of this circle were representatives of patriarchal feudal nationalism and enthusiasts of neo-Latin literature.

in Greek Catholic schools.⁷⁹ The Transylvanian Romanians protested unanimously, although the use of the Hungarian language, especially in the Greek Catholic context, had never been considered out of place even prior to this. According to contemporary Orthodox journalist and historian George Bariț (1812–1893), Romanians who were educated in Hungarian Catholic schools spoke Hungarian to one another even at the Blaj seminary. These students were unable to read Romanian books written in Cyrillic script. At the funeral of his predecessor Ion Bob, Bishop Ion Lemeni delivered his address in Hungarian. His priests often handed petitions to him in Hungarian. Some Greek Catholic deans even kept church records in Hungarian.⁸⁰ However, the bishops of Blaj used exclusively Latin in their correspondence with the bishopric of Alba Iulia, and the archbishopric of Esztergom.

In Transylvania, the law making Hungarian the official language finally emerged at the diet of 1847. This law enclosed the Latin language within the walls of the schools, even in Transylvania. In the second half of the nineteenth century, no Latin-language works were written by Transylvanian Romanians. Moldavian and Wallachian philologists considered Romanian language reform to be feasible not by means of re-Latinisation, but by borrowing from other Romance languages (mainly French and Italian). In the intensity of romantic nationalism, national languages finally drove Latin out of the world of public affairs and literature in Romanian society, too.

79 Szekfű, *Iratok*, 523–531.

80 G. Barițiu, *Părți alese din istoria Transilvaniei* [From the history of Transylvania] (Sibiu 1889), 1: 613–614; G. Bogdan-Duică, *Viața și ideile lui Simion Bărnuțiu* [The life and ideas of Simon Bărnuțiu] (Bucharest 1924), 49–51.

Index

- Abafi Lajos 74n
Almási Gábor 283
Alsted, Johann Heinrich 280
Álvares, Manuel SJ 148–149, 264
Ambrózy Sámuel 175
Ambruš, Jozef 240
Anacreon 32n
Andrew II, King of Hungary 50, 225
Anghel, Atanasiu *see* Athanasius
Anonymus (author of *Gesta Hungarorum*)
110–111
Aranka György 298, 304
Archilochus 276
Aristotle 57
Armbruster, Johann Michael 84, 89
Aron, Petru Pavel 285, 286
Arpads, family 53n
Asbóth János 87
Athanasius, bishop 284
Attila 54n, 114n
Aurelian, Roman emperor 297
Axer, Jerzy 167n

Bacon, Francis 142
Bajza József 88
Bánffy, György, governor of Transylvania
292
Barcsay, Ábrahám 114n
Barczafalvy, Dávid Szabó 162
Bariț, George 306
Batsányi, János 161, 187
Beckereki, Mihály 286
Bedekovics Ferenc (Franjo Bedeković) 293
Bel, Matthias 15, 27, 67, 121n, 142, 147n,
153–155, 159, 169–171,
Benedict XIV, Pope 289
Benkő József 297–298, 305n
Bernolák, Anton 239–242, 244–247, 249,
251–252
Bernoulli, Johann III 116
Berzeviczy Gergely 15, 71, 78, 81–87, 89, 92
Berzsényi Dániel 55n, 88
Bessenyei György 72–73, 114n, 160–161
Bethlen Mihály 282, 283
Bethlen Miklós 282

Beudant, François 255
Bevir, Mark 40–41n
Bisterfeld, Johann Heinrich 280
Bob, Ion 285, 306
Bolla Márton SP 303–304
Branković, Đurađ (Brankovics Georgius),
Despot of Serbia 266
Brestánsky, Andrej 241–242
Brezovatski, Titus (Tituš Brezovački) 197
Bröder, Christian Gottlieb 264
Bruckenthal, Samuel, Governor of
Transylvania 291, 298
Brunner, Otto 127
Budai-Deleanu, Ion 294, 299, 300
Buitul, Gheorghe (György Bujtul) 279, 284
Burke, Peter 124n, 166–168, 177, 188
Busan, Hermannus (Herman Bužan) 216
Bužan, Herman *see* Busan, Hermannus
Bužan, Ivan Nepomuk 210

Caesar, Gaius Julius 56, 122
Calvin, Jean 197
Cantemir, Dimitrie 303
Čaplavič, Ján (János Csaplovics) 86, 90, 128,
244–245
Carlowszky Zsigmond (Sigismundus
Carlowšky) 92
Catilina, Lucius Sergius 282
Cellarius, Christoph 121–122, 142, 146,
264–265
Charles, Archduke of Austria, Duke of
Teschen 82
Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, King of
Hungary 200, 228
Chompré, Pierre 148
Cicero, Marcus Tullius 60, 87, 122, 123n,
148, 155
Clemens XIV, Pope 95, 132
Coloman, King of Hungary 201, 291, 296
Comenius, Jan (John) Amos 1–2, 125, 147n,
259
Compayré, Gabriel 142
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Emperor of
the Byzantine Empire 110–111
Cornelius Nepos 122, 148

- Cornides, Daniel 158–159, 244n, 305n
 Costin, Miron 281
 Cosimelli, Antonio (Silvius Tannoli) 287
 Costin, Toma 302
 Csáky, Moritz (Móric) 70–71, 244
 Csaplovics, Ján *see* Čaplovič, Ján
 Csokonai Mihály 29
 Czindery Pál 77
- D'Alembert, Jean-Baptiste le Rond 115, 131n
 Darabant, Ignatie 292
 Dayka Gábor 186n
 Deák Ferenc 91
 Debreczeni Attila 50n
 Demeter György 163
 Derkos, Ivan (Joannes Derkoosz) 209, 212, 213n, 220, 233–234
 Descartes, René 142–143
 Desericius, Iosephus SP 27
 Dessewfy József 88
 Dörner, Anton 282
 Dózsa György 73
 Draskovich János (Ivan Drašković) 74–75, 77, 187–189
 Drašković, Janko 209–210, 212, 213n, 214, 220, 222, 229
 Dudith, Andreas 283
 Dugonics, András SP 13n
- Eckhart, Johann Georg von 101, 103, 105
 Eder, Joseph Karl 297, 299
 Ehlers, Martin 144
 Elezović, Franja 277n
 Engel, Johann Christian 299
 Ercsei Dániel 304
 Erdődy János (Johannes), Ban of Croatia 197, 202
 Ernst the Pious, Duke of Saxony-Gotha 125n
 Esterházy Ferenc 75
 Eszterházy Károly 116
 Evans, Robert John Weston 14n, 129
- Fejér, György 304n, 305
 Fenyes, Alexius von 14n
 Ferdinand I, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Hungary 200
 Ferdinand II, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Hungary 2–3
- Ferdinand v, Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary 229
 Festetics György 78
 Festetics Julianna 71n
 Fichte, Johann Gottlieb 272
 Filtsch, Johann 298
 Fischer, Johann Eberhard 102
 Fleury, Claude 125
 Fogel, Martin 100, 105
 Forgách Ferenc 283
 Forgách Miklós 78
 Francis II, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Hungary 84
 Francke, August Hermann 147n, 153–154, 170
 Frederick II, the Great, King of Prussia 72
 Frederick III, Elector of Brandenburg 153n
 Friz (Fritz), Andreas SJ 135
 Fuchs, Samuel 92
 Fukayama, Francis 72
- Gaj, Ljudevit (Ludwig Gay) 208, 212, 213n, 220, 233
 Gáldi László 294
 Gaspari, Giovanni Battista de 135
 Gáti István 38
 Gellner, Ernest 35n
 Gelu (Gyalu), Romanian duke 295–296
 Genersich János (Johann Genersich) 87
 Gergely Andras 14n
 Géza II, King of Hungary 298
 Gogolák Lajos (Ludwig Gogolák) 66, 87
 Greguss Mihály 92
 Gross, Ján 145
 Grujić, Nikanor 274, 275
 Gyulay, Ignác (Ignjat), Ban of Croatia 222
- Habsburg, family 54n
 Hajnóczy József 77, 93
 Halicius, Mihai 279–284
 Halicius, Mihai, senior 280
 Hannulik, Johannes Chrysostomus 33
 Hattala, Martin 250, 252
 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich 71, 81
 Hell, Maximilian 16n, 21, 97–100, 105, 107–118, 176
 Hellenbach, Eva (Éva Jánoky) 7n
 Hensel, Gottfried 103–105

- Herder, Johann Gottfried 87, 237, 272, 276, 294, 295n
- Herkel, Ján 245–249, 252
- Heyne, Christian Gottlob 17
- Hodža, Michal 250–253
- Hodža, Milan 251
- Hoitsy Pál 89
- Hojč (Hoitsy), Samuel 89, 244–245
- Holl (Holle), Philipp Joseph 149
- Hollý, Jan 241n
- Homer 276
- Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus) 32, 86–87, 122, 273, 275–276
- Horányi Elek (Alexius) 30, 116
- Horvát István 17–19, 80
- Horváth Mihály 304
- Hranislav, Gavriilo (Georgije Hranislav) 263, 267, 275, 276
- Hugo, Victor 88
- Hundegger József SJ 289
- Hunfalvy Pál 87
- Husztly, Zacharias 158
- Hviid, Andreas Christian 115n
- Ihre, Johan 106
- Illésházy, family 66
- Ipsilanti, Alexandru, Prince of Wallachia 297
- Ivul, Gabriel (Gábor Ivul) 279, 284
- Izdenczy József 203, 294
- Jarnević, Dragojla 213n
- Jászay Pál 92n
- Jelačić, Josip, Ban of Croatia 235n
- Joó Tibor 64–66, 70
- Joseph, Archduke, Palatine of Hungary 70–71, 81, 265, 305n
- Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Hungary 8–11, 13n, 22, 34, 36, 45–46, 56, 72, 76, 81, 84, 96, 112, 114, 129, 150–151, 156, 160, 162–164, 172, 177, 193–196, 198–199, 257n, 258, 291
- Jovanović, Vikentije 261
- Jungnitz, Anton 115
- Kálmán *see* Coloman
- Karadžić, Vuk Stefanović 272–273
- Karánsebesi *see* Mihai Halicius
- Katona István 243, 305n
- Kazinczy Ferenc 32, 34, 60–61n, 71, 72, 74, 77, 79, 88–90, 92, 162n, 164, 187–188, 282
- Kecskeméti Károly 70, 76n
- Kerekes Sámuel 163
- Keresztúri Bíró Pál 280, 281n
- Keresztury József (Josip Keresturi) 157n, 169n, 171, 173n
- Kézai Simon 37n, 51–52
- Kisfaludy Sándor 88, 305n
- Kiss József 61n
- Kókay, György 160n
- Kölcsey Ferenc 29, 88
- Kollár, Adam František 137, 141, 144, 148n, 294
- Kollár, Ján 209, 247–252, 254–255
- Komenský, Jan Amos *see* Comenius, Jan Amos
- Kopitar, Bartholomäus (Jernej) 302, 303
- Korabinsky, Matthias 152n
- Kosáry Domokos 66n
- Kossuth Lajos 82, 91–94, 231
- Kovachich Márton György 175, 187, 198, 305n
- Kovacsóczy Farkas 283
- Kralóvánszky István 87–88
- Krčelić, Baltazar Adam 126
- Kulundžić, Stefan 275
- Kušević, Josip (Josephus Kussevich) 207n, 220, 233
- La Chalotais, Louis-René de Caradeuc de 125–126, 130, 144n
- Ladislaus (László) IV, King of Hungary 52
- Lancelot, Claude 134n, 142–143
- Lange, Joachim 264–265
- Le Fèvre, Anne (Mme Dacier) 141
- Le Fèvre, Tanneguy 141
- Leem, Knud 106–107
- Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm 101, 103, 105
- Lemeni, Ion 285, 306
- Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Hungary 76–77, 196–197, 203, 292
- Lisinski, Vatroslav (Ignaz Fuchs) 214n
- Livy (Titus Livius Patavinus) 55n, 122
- Locher, Theodor 255
- Locke, John 131n, 144
- Louis Philippe, King of France 226
- Löwe, Anton 158–159
- Luca, Ignaz de 116

- Lukavszky, Donatus (Donat Lukavski) 198
 Luther, Martin 197
- Madarász János 71
 Magin, Ján Balthasar 66
 Maior, Grigore 285
 Maior, Petru 302, 303
 Makó Pál 136, 175
 Maksimović, Vasilije 267, 275
 Marczali Henrik 68
 Margócsy István 7
 Maria Theresa, Holy Roman Empress, Queen
 of Hungary 11, 27–28, 91, 98, 108, 112–113,
 132n, 136, 160, 164, 171, 205–206, 263,
 287, 289
 Martinovics Ignác 70, 79–81
 Márton József 204
 Mártonffi, Joseph 301
 Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary 34, 179
 Mednyánszky Alajos 294
 Meheși, Iosif 292
 Melanchthon, Philipp 103n
 Messerschmidt, Daniel Gottlieb 101n
 Mettemich, Klemens von 84–85
 Micu-Klein, Inochentie 285, 287, 288–290,
 291, 292, 294
 Micu-Klein, Samiul 290, 292, 294, 301
 Mihanović, Antun (Antonius Mihanovich)
 210–211
 Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós 283
 Mohila, Peter 268
 Molnár, Albert Szenci 280
 Molnár Erik 67–68
 Molnár János 148
 Moltke, Leopold Max 93
 Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat
 50–51
 Monti, Vincenzo 277n
 Mrazović, Avram 265
 Mušicki, Lukijan 266, 273, 275–276
- Nadányi János 282
 Nagy József 305n
 Napoleon I, Emperor of the French 82, 84,
 207, 213, 266
 Niczky, Kristóf 133–136
 Niczky, Stjepan (István) 74
 Nicoara, Moise 303
- Nieupoort, Willem Hendrik 149
 Nikolić Srbogradski, Isidor 274, 276
 Nilsson, Kristian 102, 103n
- Obradović, Dositej 258n, 270–271
 Ócsai Balogh Péter 77
 Oertelius, Joannes Gottofredus 103–105
 Olahus, Nicolaus (Miklós Oláh) 279,
 283–284, 294
 Orczy Lőrinc 114n
 Orfelin, Zaharija Stefanović 268–269, 271
 Ormis, Jan 238
 Orton, Lawrence 254
 Osvald Zsigmond 61n
 Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso) 122
- Paget, John 246
 Páldi István 286
 Pápai Páriz Ferenc 280–281
 Papánek, Juraj 243–244
 Pardoe, Julia 255
 Pászthory Sándor 75–77
 Pataki, Ion (János) 285, 288
 Pavlovna, Alexandra, Grand Duchess
 of Russia 265
 Péczeli József 43n, 162
 Perecsényi Nagy László 304, 305n
 Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia 263
 Petro, Peter 243
 Petrovics, Partenius 280n
 Photios, Patriarch 197
 Pilgram, Anton 176n
 Pindar 276
 Piscator, Ludovicus 280
 Plautus, Titus Maccius 148
 Popović, Georggije 266
 Popović, Jovan Sterija 274
 Porthan, Henrik Gabriel 106
 Porsanger, Anders 107
 Pray, György (Georg) SJ 110n, 111, 158, 294,
 298, 299
 Preradović, Petar 213n
 Pukánszky Béla 65
 Pyrker, Johann Ladislaus (János László
 Pyrker) 34n, 88
- Rajačić, Josif 266
 Rajić, Jovan 264, 266

- Rakić, Ilija 275
 Rákóczi Ferenc (Francis) II, Prince of Transylvania 1, 10, 67, 153n, 168
 Rákóczi Zsigmond 1
 Rákosi Mátyás 67
 Rakovac, Dragutin 213n
 Rát Mátyas 152, 160–163
 Rednic, Athanasius 285
 Rennius, Johann 264–265
 Révai József 67
 Révai Miklós 33, 162, 186
 Ribiny János (Ján) 67
 Ricœur, Paul 40n
 Romulus 60
 Rosenfeld, Friedrich von 298
 Roth, Thomas 244n
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 77, 86, 125, 295n
 Rukavina, Juraj 222
 Rummy Károly György (Karl Georg Rummy) 83n, 87–91
 Sajnovics János 21, 97–100, 102, 105–118, 299
 Salgai István 243
 Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus) 32, 55n
 Schedius Lajos János (Johann Ludwig von Schedius) 17–19, 175, 187
 Schlözer, August Ludwig 102, 106, 162, 294, 295n, 298
 Schoppe, Kaspar 2–3
 Schwartzner Márton (Martin von) 17–18, 302
 Seifert, Johann 158
 Seipp, Christoph 155–156, 160
 Sekereš, Anastasije Dimitrijević 262
 Seremi, Teophilus *see* Theophilus
 Sermage, Karlo 220–222, 226–232, 234–236
 Sinai Miklós 29
 Šincai, Gherorghe 286, 290, 294, 297, 299, 301, 305n
 Skerlec, Nicolaus (Nikola Škrlec) 13n, 77–78, 174, 194, 197–198, 202, 291, 293
 Skinner, Quentin 40n
 Sklenár, Juraj, SJ 243–244
 Škrlec, Nikola *see* Skerlec, Nicolaus
 Smith, Anthony D. 35
 Smodek, Matija 209
 Snyder, Louis Leo 239
 Solarić, Pavle 271–272
 Sonnenfels, Joseph von 130
 Spielberg, Pál 178n, 179–181, 183–185, 187
 Špišić, Gabriel 214n
 Štefan, Simion 280
 Stephen I (Saint), King of Hungary 44, 52, 54n, 59, 65, 77, 91, 224, 234
 Stetner Máté 92n
 Strahlenberg, Philipp Johann von 101, 105
 Stratimirović, Stefan 263, 266, 275
 Štúr, Ludovít 249–252, 254
 Šulek, Bogoljub 214n, 217
 Sulzer, Franz Joseph 297, 298
 Szacsvey Sándor 163
 Széchenyi Ferenc 70, 78, 305n
 Széchenyi István 70–72, 87
 Szekfű Gyula 65–66, 69–70, 73
 Sziklay László 69
 Szűcs Jenő 37n, 39n
 Szunyogh Ferenc SJ 285
 Tablic, Bohuslav 241n
 Takáts József 38n, 50n, 54n
 Tamerlane, Mongol military leader 115
 Tannoli, Silvius *see* Cosimelli, Antonio
 Tarnai Andor 69
 Taube, Friedrich Wilhelm von 136
 Tekelija, Sava Popovic (Száva Thököly) 265
 Teleki László 86n
 Teophilus (bishop of Alba Iulia) 284
 Terence (Publius Terentius Afer) 148, 284
 Tersztyánski, Dániel 136
 Tertina Mihály 178n, 183, 305n
 Tessedik Sámuel 172
 Thököly Imre, Prince of Transylvania 67
 Thomas Archidiaconus (archdeacon of Spalato) 201, 297
 Thott, Otto 107
 Thunmann, Johann 297
 Töhötöm, Hungarian tribal leader 293, 295–297, 304
 Toldy Ferenc (Franz Schedel) 34n, 88
 Töppelt, Lorenz 281
 Tóth István György 6–7
 Tóth Zoltán 293
 Trajan, Roman emperor 288–289
 Trattner János Tamás 305
 Triesnecker, Franz 176n
 Ürményi József 14, 18, 75, 80, 136–137

- Valjavec, Fritz 157n
 Vargyasi Daniel István 289
 Vay József 91
 Vay Miklós 72
 Vedres István 38–63
 Venturi, Franco 123
 Verhovacz, Maximilian (Maksimilijan
 Vrhovac) 197–198, 202, 203n, 210
 Veszprémi István 282
 Virgil (Publius Vergilius Maro) 122
 Vitković, Mihailo (Mihály Vitkovics) 276
 Vlašić, Franjo, Ban of Croatia 222
 Vojkffy, Franjo 215, 220–226, 230–236
 Vojkffy, Sigismund 222
 Volney, Constantin François de 92
 Vörösmarty Mihály 88–89
 Vraz, Stanko 213n
 Vrhovac, Maksimilijan *see* Verhovacz,
 Maximilian
 Vukotinović, Ljudevit 213n
 Vykopil, Susana 242
 Wallaszky Pál sP 30
 Waquet Françoise 167, 188
 Weiss, Franciscus (Ferenc) 100
 Werbóczy István 73, 76, 127
 Windisch, Karl Gottlieb 152, 157–159
 Wöldike, Marcus 104–105
 Wolff, Christian 164
 Xerxes, King of Persia 115
 Záborsky, Jonáš 253
 Zvonimir, King of Croatia 200